

COPIES AND EXTRACTS
OF SEVERAL
NEWS PAPERS

PRINTED IN
NEW ENGLAND,

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IN THE MONTHS OF

September, October, and November, 1765,

And referred to in the

LETTERS

TRANSMITTED FROM

FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq;

GOVERNOR of the MASSACHUSETT's BAY,

TO THE

LORDS COMMISSIONERS for TRADE and PLANTATIONS.

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FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq.

GOVERNOR OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

TO THE

JOHN COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS

JOIN OR DIE.

C O P Y

[NUMB. 1.]

OF
The Constitutional

Containing Matters inter-
esting to LIBERTY,



COURANT:

and no wife repugnant
to LOYALTY.

SATURDAY, September 21, 1765.

To the PUBLIC.

WHEN a new public Paper makes its appearance, the reader will naturally be curious to know from whence it came, the publisher, and the design of it. To gratify that curiosity, know reader, that the publisher having formerly acquired a competent knowledge of the Printing-business, for his amusement furnished himself with a set of proper materials;—And the authors of the following pieces having acquainted him that they applied to the printers in York, who refused to publish them in their news-papers—not because they disapproved them, or were apprehensive of danger, but purely because several of their friends had been anxious on their account, and particularly desired them to be careful not to publish any thing that might give the enemies of liberty an advantage, which they would be glad to take, over them; and as these pieces are thought to be wrote with greater freedom than any thing that has yet appeared in the public prints, they thought proper to shew so much complaisance to the advice of their friends, as to desire to be excused, and to return the copies: But I, who am under no fear of disobliging either friends or enemies, was pleased with the opportunity of turning my private amusements to the public good; I not only undertook to publish them, but now inform my countrymen, that I shall occasionally publish any thing else that falls in my way, which appears to me to be calculated to promote the cause of liberty, of virtue, of religion and my country, of love and reverence to its laws and constitution, and unshaken loyalty to the King.—And so I bid you heartily farewell.

ANDREW MARVEL.

AT a time when our dearest privileges are torn from us, and the foundation of all our liberty subverted, every one who has the least spark of love to his country, must feel the deepest anxiety about our approaching fate. The hearts of all who have a just value for freedom, must burn within them, when they see the chains of abject slavery just ready to be riveted about our necks. It has been undeniably demonstrated, by the various authors who have dared to assert the cause of these injured colonies, that no Englishman can be taxed, agreeable to the known principles of our constitution,

but

but by his own consent, given either by himself or his representatives,—that these colonies are not in any sense at all represented in the British parliament,—that the first adventurers into these uncultivated deserts, were, in every colony, either by royal charters or royal concessions, in the most express terms possible, assured, that all their rights and privileges, as British subjects, should be preserved to them unimpaired,—that these original concessions have been repeatedly allowed by the crown, and have never been controverted till this *memorable period*. The arguments by which these points have been established beyond all dispute, I need not repeat; their evidence is such as must flash conviction into the minds of all but the vile minions of tyranny and arbitrary power. The tremendous conclusion, therefore, forces itself upon us, that the public faith of the nation, in which, till now, we thought we might securely confide, is violated, and we robbed of our dearest rights by the late law erecting a *stamp-office* among us.

What then is to be done? Shall we sit down quietly, while the yoke of slavery is wreathing about our necks? He that is stupid enough to plead for this, deserves to be a *slave*. Shall we not hope still that some resource is left us in the royal care and benevolence? We have the happiness to be governed by one of the best of kings who is our common father and must be supposed to be under no temptations to sacrifice the rights of one part of his subjects to the caprice of another.

The power of executing the laws is, by the constitution, vested in the crown. We never can suppose that our sovereign, when our state is properly represented to him, will employ that power to execute a law so evidently iniquitous and unreasonable, especially when a method of answering the same ends, (as far as they ought to be answered) perfectly agreeable to the constitution, so readily offers itself.—Let us then besiege the throne with petitions and humble remonstrances, and not doubt of a favourable issue in the result.

It must certainly give the most sensible pleasure to every American that loves this his native country, to find a proposal set on foot for all the Colonies to lay before his Majesty a united representation of their grievances, and pray a redress. Such a representation as this, in the name of so large and respectable a body of his subjects, must have great weight and influence in the royal councils. That so excellent a scheme is likely to be so generally complied with, raises our hopes, and demonstrates that the sons of America are not afraid nor ashamed to be her advocates against tyranny and oppression, tho' obtruding themselves under the sanction of a law. But what are we to think of a set of mushroom patriots, who have refused to concur in so noble an attempt? In what light can we view this conduct? Shall they who by *office* and *profession* engage to assert the cause of publick liberty, own themselves such dastards as to be afraid to speak, when their country is injured in her most sacred rights, yea, enslaved, lest they provoke her oppressors? 'Tell it not in Gath!'—Liberty and property are necessarily connected together: He that deprives of the latter without our consent, deprives of the former. What is a slave, but one who depends upon the will of another for the enjoyment of his life and property? This surely is a very precarious tenure. He that assumes to himself a right to deprive me of any part of my estate (however small that part may be) on certain occasions, of which he is to be the sole judge, may with equal reason deprive me of the whole, when he thinks proper: And he that thinks he has a right to strip me of all my property, when he sees fit, may with equal justice deprive me of my life,

when he thinks his own interest requires it. If a king, tho' invested with lawful authority, adopts these principles, none will hesitate to pronounce him a tyrant. But where is the difference between a prince who treats his subjects in this manner, and a number of fellow-subjects who usurp such a power over others? All that I can see, is, that in the former case we should groan under the oppression of one man; but in the latter, under that of a great body of men, which will generally be by far the most intolerable, as it is much better to have only one tyrant than several hundreds.

This my countrymen, is our unhappy lot: The same principles on which the vile minions of tyranny vindicate the present tax, will vindicate the most oppressive laws conceivable. They need only boldly assert, that *we are virtually represented in the British parliament*, that *they are the properest judges of the sums necessary to be raised, and of our ability to pay them*, therefore such a tax is equitable, be it what it will, tho' it reduces nine-tenths of us to instant beggary. If we throw in petitions against them, they need only say, *'tis against the known rules of this house to admit petitions against money bills*, and so forever deny us the liberty of being heard. Was there ever a wider door opened for the entrance of arbitrary power, with all its horrors? Can the annals of Turkey produce its parallel? Even there, where tyranny has long established her gloomy throne, the subject is frequently indulged the liberty of complaining under grievances, and often uses that liberty with success. Poor America! the bootless privilege of complaining, always allowed to the vilest criminals on the rack, is denied thee!

Let none censure these free thoughts as treasonable: I know they will be called so by those who would gladly transform these flourishing colonies into the howling seats of thralldom and wretchedness; but the sentiments of such miscreants are little to be regarded. We cherish the most unfeigned loyalty to our rightful sovereign; we have a high veneration for the British parliament; we consider them as the most august assembly on earth; but the wisest of kings may be misled; some persons they must trust for the information they receive; those persons are generally such whose interest it is to represent all things to them in false lights; so that it is rather to be admired that they are not oftner misled than they are. Parliaments also are liable to mistakes, yea, sometimes fall into capital errors, and frame laws the most oppressive to the subject, yea, sometimes take such steps, which, if persisted in, would soon unhinge the whole constitution. Our histories bear innumerable attestations to the truth of this. It cannot be treason to point out such mistakes; and the consequences of them, yea to set them in the most glaring light, to alarm the subject. By acting on this principle, our ancestors have transmitted to us our privileges inviolated; let us therefore prosecute the same glorious plan. Let the British parliament be treated with all possible respect, while they treat us as fellow-subjects; but if they transgress the bounds prescribed them by the constitution, if they usurp a jurisdiction, to which they have no right; if they infringe our liberties, and pursue such measures as will infallably end in a Turkish despotism; if they violate the public faith, and destroy our confidence in the royal promises, let us boldly deny all such usurped jurisdiction; we owe them no more subjection, in this respect, than the Divan of Constantinople; to seem to acknowledge such a claim, would be to court our chains. Be assured, my countrymen, whatever spirit we manifest on this juncture, it cannot be offensive to our sovereign: *He glories in being King of freemen, and not of slaves*. To shew that we are freemen, and resolve to continue so, cannot displease, but must endear us to him. It must

endear us also to all the true sons of liberty in Great Britain, to see that we have carried over the Atlantic the genuine spirit of our ancestors. We can offend none but a set of the blackest villains, and these we must always offend, unless we will tamely suffer them to tread down our rights at pleasure. With them, liberty is always treason, and an advocate for the people's rights, a sower of sedition. Let it be our honor, let it be our boast, to be odious to these foes to human kind; let us shew them that we consider them only as beasts of prey, formed to devour; that tho' full of loyalty to the best of kings, and ready to spill the last drop of our blood in his service, yet we dare bid defiance to all who are betraying the sovereign, and sacrificing his people.

While too many to the Westward are thinking of nothing but tamely yielding their necks to the yoke, it revives the courage of all who wish well to their country, to see such a noble spirit prevailing in the eastern colonies. There the gentlemen appointed to serve as tools to enslave their countrymen, have some of them gloriously disdained the dirty employment; they have scorned to raise their own fortunes by such detestable means; they have shewn that they esteem the public good, infinitely above all private emolument; in short, they have pleased themselves TRUE LOVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY. Let their names be enrolled in the annals of fame; let them be embalmed to all posterity, and serve as examples to fire the breasts of patriots yet unborn. Others, we find, have been intimidated into a resignation, by those hardy sons of liberty, and have the mortification to see all their vile schemes of enriching themselves out of the plunder of their fellow-subjects, blasted in an instant. But what name shall we give those miscreants who still resolve to keep the detested office? How hard must that heart be, which is insensible of the dearest and tenderest of all obligations? which feels no sympathy for a native country, oppressed and ruined? but can please itself with the hellish prospect of increasing private wealth by her spoils? Ye blots and stains of America! Ye vipers of human kind! Your names shall be blasted with infamy, the publick execration shall pursue you while living, and your memories shall rot, when death has disabled you from propagating vassalage and misery any further: Your crimes shall haunt you like *spectres*, and take vengeance for the crimes of distressed innocence.

We cannot be enslaved without you reach out a helping hand: If you emulate the noble example of some of your fellow-officers, whose disinterestedness will endear them to generations yet unborn, the chains of thralldom cannot be put about our necks, at least the duration of our freedom will be prolonged. Dare you then bear a part in hastening its final extinction? Can you expect to escape the unseen hand of resentment, awakened by injuries like these? Assure yourselves the spirit of Brutus and Cassius is yet alive; *there are who dare strike a blow to avenge their insulted country*. Know ye vile miscreants we love liberty; and we fear not to shew it. We abhor slavery and detest the remotest aiders and abettors of our bondage: but native Americans, who are diabolical enough to help forward our ruin, we execrate as the worst of parricides. Parricides! 'tis too soft a term: Murder your fathers, rip up the bowels of your mothers, dash the infants you have begotten against the stones, and be blameless;—but enslave your country! entail vassalage, that worst of all human miseries, that sum of all wretchedness, on millions! This, this is guilt, this calls for heaven's fiercest vengeance. But rouse, rouse my countrymen, let the villain that is hardy enough to persist, do it at his peril. Shew them we have resentment no less keen than our Eastern brethren; will you tamely suffer the execution of a law that reduces
you

you to the vile condition of slaves, and is abhorred by all the genuine sons of liberty? Let the wretch that sleeps now, be branded as an enemy to his country.

PHILOLUTHERUS.

THE late violences committed in the Eastern colonies, in resentment and opposition to the Stamp Act, and all its contrivers and abettors; whether they proceeded from the misguided zeal of those who had a strong sensibility of the injury done their country by that act, or from the villainous cunning of those who took the opportunity of the publick discontent, to promote and increase the tumult, in order to perpetuate the most atrocious crimes; in either case, the true lovers of liberty and their country, who detest and abhor the Stamp Act from principle, and a certain knowledge of their rights, violated by that act, are far from countenancing, or being pleased with these violences; on the contrary, they hear of them with concern and sorrow, not only as they must necessarily involve many innocent persons in distress, who had no share in the guilt that excited the publick resentment; but also as they injure a good cause, and check the spirit of opposition to an act illegally obtruded upon us, to deprive us of our most sacred rights, and change our freedom to slavery, by a legislature who have no lawful authority over us. The terrible effects of those popular tumults, are likely to startle men who have been accustomed to venerate and obey lawful authority, and who delight in peace and order; and to make them doubt the justice of the cause attended with such direful consequences. But the guilt of all these violences is most justly chargeable upon the authors and abettors of the Stamp Act. They who endeavour to destroy the foundations of the English constitution, and break thro' the fence of the laws in order to let in a torrent of tyranny and oppression upon their fellow-subjects, ought not to be surprized if they are overwhelmed in it themselves. If they whom the people have invested with power, to be employed for the public good, pervert it quite to contrary purposes, to oppress and insult those by whom they are supported; is it not ridiculous for them to expect security from those laws which they themselves break thro' to injure their country: If they become arbitrary, and use their power against the people who give it; can they suppose that the people, in their turn, will not exert their inherent power against their oppressors, and be as arbitrary as they? When such a power is raised, as it is not under the restraint of any regular government or direction, terrible effects may generally be expected from it. But those are answerable for them, who raised the tempest. Let no man then suffer his rights to be torn from him, for fear of the consequences of defending them,—however dreadful they may be, the guilt of them does not lie at his door. However, I would wish my countrymen to avoid such violent proceedings, if possible; but at the same time to oppose the execution of the Stamp Act, with a steady and perpetual exertion of their whole power, --and by all means, to endeavour, jointly and severally, to throw all possible obstructions in the way of its taking effect, and to treat with the utmost ignominy and detestation all those enemies and betrayers of their country's most sacred rights, who officiously endeavor to enforce it: I would wish them never to pay one farthing of this tax, but leave the infamous officers, if they will have it, to take it by force, by way of robbery and plunder.---

For

For the moment we submit to pay this tax, as to lawful authority, that moment we commence as errant slaves as any in Turkey, the fence of our liberty and property is broken down, and the foundation of the English constitution with respect to us, is utterly destroyed. Let us not flatter ourselves, that we shall be happier, or treated with more lenity than our fellow slaves in Turkey; human nature is the same every where, and unlimited power is as much to be dreaded among us, as it is in the most barbarous nations upon earth: It is slavery that hath made them barbarous and the same cause will have the same effect upon us. The inhabitants of Greece, Rome, and Constantinople, were once free and happy, and the liberal arts and sciences flourished among them; but slavery has spread ignorance, barbarism and misery over those once delightful regions, where the people are sunk into a stupid insensibility of their condition, and the spirit of liberty, after being depressed above a thousand years, seems now to be lost irrecoverably. It is better to die in defence of our rights, than to leave such a state as this to the generations that succeed us.

It cannot be possible that our sovereign, or any of our English fellow-subjects, who understand and value their own rights, can be displeased with us for asserting ours. Do we claim any but what are as clear as the noon day? Have we not by nature a right to liberty and property; as Englishmen, by laws & charters, in terms as plain as words can express? Is it not a fundamental principle of the English constitution, that no man shall be bound but by laws of his own making, nor taxed but by his own consent, given by representatives of his own choosing? And have we not a right to have all our causes tried by our peers, i. e. by juries, men of our own rank indifferently chosen, and to whom we have no reasonable objection;—and does not the Stamp Act, in the most flagrant manner, violate all these rights, our liberty, our property, & trials by juries? Our liberty, in being subjected to laws that we had no share in making; our property, in being taxed without our own consent, in a parliament where we never had either the choice of a person to represent us, nor any that were qualified for the office, or interested in our welfare; and in our trials by juries, because an informer, or prosecutor has it in his choice, whether to try the matter in a court of common law, or a court of admiralty:—and as these courts are immediately under the influence of the crown, and the act allows no appeal from them, except to a court of vice-admiralty, which is of the same kind, we have reason to think these courts will be as arbitrary and oppressive as ever the high commission and star chamber courts were: And as this Act gives them jurisdiction over matters that have no relation to navigation or sea affairs, they may, with equal propriety, have jurisdiction in cases of life and death. This is a real representation of the slavish state we are reduced to by the Stamp Act, if we ever suffer it to take place among us. It is easy to see that the ministry design to alter and overturn the English constitution, and have invented a number of expedients to break thro' the restraints that the laws lay upon arbitrary dispositions, and are labouring to become despotic and uncontrollable.

If the English parliament can lay these burdens upon us, they can also, if they please, take our whole property from us, and order us to be sold for slaves, or put to death. But how came the English parliament by such a right over us? They are chosen by the people of Great Britain to represent them. They have no power but what is delegated to them by their constituents;

tients; and those constituents have no power over our liberty or property. Their power (over these things at least) is purely local, and confined to the places they are chosen to represent; and it is plain they cannot represent the people of America, for that would deprive them of their most valuable rights as Englishmen, and be a contradiction to common sense.

It is a rule that no man in England shall be capable of serving as a representative in parliament, without having a considerable property in England; the reason of this rule is plain; because he will be affected in his own fortune, by the laws he is concern'd in making for the public, the good of which he will consult for his own sake:---But consider this rule with respect to America: Have all the Members of parliament property there? Will they each feel part of the burdens they lay upon us?--No. But their own burdens will be lightened by laying them upon our shoulders, and all they take from us will be gains to themselves: Heaven defend us from such representatives!

Let none falsely insinuate, that this spirit of opposition to the Stamp Act, which prevails throughout the British dominions in America, has in it the least tincture of rebellion against lawful authority, or disloyalty to our king. Whoever brings such charges against us, is a slanderer and a villain. We have the highest degree of veneration for the laws and constitution of England; they are our birth right and inheritance, and we would defend them with our lives. We have the most affectionate loyalty to our rightful sovereign George the third, and his royal house, and we are ready to risk our lives and fortunes in his and their defence. We have the highest respect and reverence for the British parliament, which we believe to be the most august and respectable body of men upon earth, and we desire that all their rights, privileges and honors may forever be preserved to them, and to every rank and order of men in the kingdom of Great Britain, whose welfare, prosperity and honor we sincerely wish, and should rejoice in. We consider ourselves as one people with them, and glory in the relation between us; and we desire our connection may forever continue, as it is our best security against foreign invaders, and as we may reciprocally promote the welfare and strength of each other. Such are our sentiments and affections towards our mother country. But, at the same time, we cannot yield up to her, or to any power on earth, our inherent and most valuable rights and privileges. If she would strip us of all the advantages derived to us from the English constitution, why should we desire to continue our connection? We might as well belong to France, or any other power; none could offer a greater injury to our rights and liberties than is offered by the Stamp Act. If we have delivered our sentiments of the parliament with greater freedom than they are usually mentioned with, let it be considered that it is only when they have taken upon them to deprive us of our rights, which are not under their Jurisdiction: If any then take offence at the freedom with which they are treated, let them blush at the occasion given for it. Such an alarming attempt upon British liberty was never made before, nor I hope ever will again.---We have been told from England, that the Stamp Act passed without so much debate or consideration, as sometimes arose upon the most trifling bills that are brought before the house! If it had been well debated and considered, surely it never could have passed; it must astonish all concern'd in it, when they come to consider it, that ever it did pass at all, and it will doubtless be repealed as soon as ever the nature of it is fully understood.---Mean while let us never, for one moment, acknowledge that it is

binding upon us, nor pay one farthing in obedience to it, for it was made by a power, that, by the fundamental laws that both they and we acknowledge, hath no jurisdiction over us.

As the ministry under whose influence this Act was made, are, we have reason to hope, by this time discarded and out of place, no other I suppose will ever be found that will approve it; and it may be worth the serious consideration of those who would officiously endeavour to enslave their countrymen to enforce it, whether they will not be more likely to receive the frowns than the smiles of their superiors, for their activity in so odious an office. For if this act takes place and is established, it may be depended upon, that liberty in Great Britain will not long survive its extinction in America.

PHILOPATRIÆ.

[Since the foregoing pieces came to the Printer's hands, certain intelligence has been received from England of an universal change in the Ministry whereby all those great officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the people, by their impolitic and arbitrary proceedings, are excluded from any share in the administration; and their places filled up by some of the most distinguished patriots in the nation, who it is hoped and believed will soon give a happy proof to his Majesty's subjects, in Europe and America, of their sincere love of liberty, for which they have been long contending with it's enemies, by adhering to such measures, and such only as are consistent with the principles of the constitution. His grace the duke of Grafton, is appointed secretary of state for the Northern department, and the Rt. Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, a great friend to America, and a strong opposer of the Stamp Act, secretary for the southern. The Publick is referr'd for further particulars, to the weekly papers.]

Printed by ANDREW MARVEL, at the Sign of the *Bribe-refused*, on
Constitution Hill, North America.

EXTRACT from the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*
of Monday, October 7, 1765.

To the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

HAD not His Excellency the Governor seen fit to adjourn the General Assembly so suddenly, the House of Representatives would doubtless, in a few Days, have desired a Recess; in order to consult with, and take the Directions of their Constituents, respecting the Necessity of a Compliance with the *grievous and unconstitutional* Tax laid upon the Colonies by the STAMP-ACT; after having first acquainted His Excellency, by Way of Answer to his Speech, that they considered the Act as inconsistent with the Charter Rights of the Province, and that they themselves *were not convinced of the Necessity of a Submission*. But His Excellency it seems was in an unparliamentary Way, informed of the Intentions of the House; and, to prevent their taking Place, adjourned the Court before the Committee had prepared the Draft of an Answer.

You have now, my Countrymen, the same Opportunity to instruct your Representatives as you would have had if the House had requested a Recess.

I HOPE you will at this important Crisis, excuse an animated Address, from a hearty Friend to your Civil Liberties, intended to warm your Imagination, and

and excite your Activity: in the Prosecution of which, I shall, with great Freedom use the Words and adopt the Sentiments of a late spirited Writer: without marking the particular Passages, for which I am obliged to that patriotic Genius.

It is a standing Maxim of *English Liberty* "That no Man shall be taxed "but with his own consent" and you very well know we were not, in any *sober* Sense, represented in Parliament, when this Tax was imposed. When the Legislature decree a Tax, as they represent the Community, such Tax ought to be considered as the voluntary Gift of the People to be applied to such Uses, as they, by their Representatives, shall think expedient. In the Preamble to this Act it is said to be, "For defraying the Expences of defending, protecting, and securing the British Colonies." But lest you should fall in Love with the Act on Account of these Words in the Preamble, I would just observe to you that Impositions of this Kind are commonly ushered in under the Pretence of general Utility, to make them the more easily go down with the People. The Colonies, my dear Friends, are of so much Importance to the Mother Kingdom, that its very Existence, as a free State, depends on them.

THE Conquests lately made in America, tho' comparatively of little Advantage to us, are of ineffable Benefit to Great Britain; and we may be certain, if we should stand in Need of Help in any future War, that, for its own Sake, Great Britain will protect and defend the Colonies.

THE Support of His Majesty's Government in this Province, the annual Expences of the Public, and the Salaries of our civil Officers, are Calls which cannot be satisfied, but at the Expence of a considerable Portion of our Estates. The Provincial Debt, incurred by the late War, and which is daily increasing by the Interest which grows due thereon, is also very great; and we should be endeavouring, as we are able, to lessen it. How then will it be possible, under these circumstances, to endure this Tax which is laid upon us by Parliament?—Add to this, that it will drain the Province of the little Cash left among us, which at present barely serves for a Medium of Trade.

THESE burdensome Duties might, under our present Circumstances, be exclaimed against, even tho' we were sure they were imposed *solely* with a Design to increase the Revenue, and we were at the same Time convinced the Parliament had a legal constitutional Right to tax us.—But when we know a great Part of the Monies raised will be perverted to enrich a Set of corrupt Individuals at our Expence—When we have Reason to believe a Part will be applied to make certain Officers among us independant of the People, whom it is for our Interest to keep dependant—When we are certain the Number of mercenary Placemen will be greatly increased, who will by and by trample upon the Liberty of the Subject; you will, my dear Friends, certainly consider them as slavish and intollerable—How vain would be all our Pretensions to Liberty, if we should expose our civil Privileges to be thus trod under Foot by *some*, perhaps, *of the most unworthy Members of the Community!* And if you should be active in bringing this Tax upon yourselves, as it will inevitably destroy our constitutional Privileges, so it will perpetuate to the latest Posterity, a most despicable Opinion of the civil Principles of their Ancestors.

THIS Province enjoys, by its Charter, an exclusive Right of charging our Estates with such Sums as we ourselves think necessary for the Preservation
and

and Advancement of our public Interest — But should your Representatives be instructed by you, (which God forbid !) by a solemn and public Act to promote the Operation of this Law, you will implicitly declare that you resign that inestimable Right ; and, in Consequence of such Resignation, you may next expect a Tax on your LANDS ; and after that one Burthen on the Back of another, till you are reduced to a State of the most abject Poverty. And you will also virtually declare your Submission to have your Properties tried by Courts of *Admiralty*, WITHOUT A JURY. But I will not, my Friends, entertain a Thought that you can be of so slavish a Temper. Your Country has flourished in Times past, and you have partook of the Fruits of its Prosperity ; and the Time is not I trust yet come that Indolence has so enervated your Powers, that you will neither bestir yourselves to promote its Interests, nor make a Stand, when Oppression, like Poverty *invades as an armed Man*.

ENDEAVOUR, my Friends, to overcome a vicious Self-Love.—Learn to prefer the Happiness of the Whole to your own private Advantage.—Stand up in Defence of your invaluable Rights and Privileges, and with a manly Fortitude shield them from Danger. Not to feel for public Calamities—to be regardless of your Country's Interest—to coil yourselves up within the dirty Shell of your own *private* Conveniency, careless of the *common* Good, is denying your Title to Humanity, and forfeiting the Character of rational Beings.

URGED by the Love of Liberty, and a disinterested Concern for your own and your Posterities Happiness, I must again and again mention to you the Importance, the prodigious Importance of the Matter under Consideration —Far be it from me to terrify you with imaginary Dangers, or to wish the Obstruction of any Measure conducive to the public Good.—Did I not foresee—was I not morally certain of the most ruinous Consequences from a tame Submission to this Law, I should not address you with so much Emotion and Fervour. When I perceive the impending Evil, and so many Men of Knowledge and sound Judgment entertain the same Apprehension, I cannot hold my Peace. In such a Case no Vehemence is excessive, no Zeal too ardent. The Effects I presage are dreaded far and wide.—Would to God our Terror was merely panic, and that the Disagreeableness of the Act arose *only from its Novelty*.—But our Fears are founded on Reason and universal Experience. Do not fancy I aim at warping your Judgment, if in the Sequel I appear rather to declaim than prove. It is because, by the clearest Demonstration, the Necessity of withholding a Submission to this grievous Imposition has already been evinced. The late political Writers having convinced your Reason, I may be excused if I now level chiefly at your Passions.

AWAKE !—Awake my Countrymen, and, by a regular & legal Opposition defeat the Designs of those who enslave us and our Posterity. Nothing is wanting but your own Resolution—For great is the Authority, exalted the Dignity, and powerful the Majesty of the People.—And shall you the Descendents of Britain, born in a Land of Light, and reared in the Bosom of Liberty—shall you commence Cowards, at a Time when Reason calls so loud for your Magnanimity ? I know you scorn such an injurious Aspersions—I know you disdain the Thought of so opprobrious a Servility—Some of you perhaps imagine all Endeavours unavailable—Banish so groundless a Fear—Truth is omnipotent, and Reason must be finally victorious. Be Men, and make the Experiment. This is your Duty, your bounden, your indispensable Duty.

Duty. Ages remote, Mortals yet unborn, will bless your generous Efforts, and revere the Memory of the Saviours of their Country.

THE Love of Liberty is natural to our Species and interwoven with the human Frame. Inflamed with this Love, do not countenance an Act so detrimental to your Privileges. Perhaps you conceive we shall after all be obliged to comply.—What! do you take it for granted that so it must be? Do you not then think yourselves free? Will you trifle with an inestimable Jewel? Regardless of your Country's Welfare, will you yield, and resign without a Struggle? Are you not desirous to bequeath to Posterity the priceless Treasure yourselves enjoy? Doubtless you resent the Insinuation—Courage then, my Brethren, and be not remiss in a Concern so momentous. Retrospect the Zeal of your Ancestors for the Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges: Trace the Renown of your Progenitors: Recollect the Stands the glorious Stands they have often made against the Yoke of Thralldom:—For their inviolable Attachment to the inestimable Blessings of Freedom, History will resound their deathless Praises; and adorned with the precious Memorials of their heroic and insuppressible Struggles against Impositions of every Sort, will shine with eternal and undecaying Splendor. Impelled by their illustrious Example, disdain the Tho'ts of a servile Acquiescence in a burdensome Law. Consider Gentlemen, that the least Infraction of your Liberties is a Prelude to greater Encroachments. Such always was, and such for ever will be the Case. Recede therefore not an Inch from your indisputable Rights—On the contrary, declare your Thoughts freely, nor scruple to deliver your Sentiments in an Affair of such unpeakable Consequence. Indolence—Indolence has been the Source of irretrievable Ruin—Languor and Timidity, when the Public is concerned, are the Origin of Evils mighty and innumerable! Why then, in the Name of Heaven, should you behold an Infringement supine and inanimate? Why should you too late deplore your Irresolution? Alas! when shall we see the glorious Flame of Patriotism light-ed up, and blazing out with inextinguishable Lustre? When shall we have *one Interest*, and that Interest *the common Good*?

To assert your RIGHTS, doth your Resolution fail you? Are you destitute of Courage? Tamely will you submit, and yield without a Contest? Come then, and by Imagination's Aid penetrate into Futurity. Behold your Offspring bred up to Bondage! Behold the Province swarming with Slaves and Beggars, and your Lands, those Lands you now so much delight in, all owned by haughty and domineering Lords!

PAUSE therefore, my Countrymen, and consider:—Revolve the Consequences in a dispassionate Mind—Weigh them in the Scale of Reason—in the Balance of cool deliberate Reflection: If any of you have been till this Time insensible of your Danger, awake now out of your Lethargy—Start, O start from your Trance! By the unconquerable Spirit of the ancient BRITONS;—by the Genius of that CONSTITUTION which abhors every Species of Vassallage;—by the august Title of ENGLISHMEN;—by the grand Prerogatives of HUMAN NATURE; the lovely Image of the INFINITE DEITY;—and what is more than all, by that LIBERTY wherewith CHRIST *has made you free*: I exhort you to instruct your Representatives against promoting by any Ways or Means whatsoever, the Operation of this grievous and burdensome Law. Acquaint them *fully* with your Sentiments of the Matter; that they may be inexcusable if they should act contrary to your declared Minds. They are clothed with Power not to sport with the Interests of human Nature, but to be faithful Guardians of the Liberties of their Country—We have

therefore a Right to expect that they will do every Thing in their Power for our Relief under our pressing Difficulties——We have also from the Change in the Ministry, some Reason to hope for a Repeal of the Act.——Happy, thrice happy should I be, to have it in my Power to congratulate my Countrymen, on so memorable a Deliverance; whilst I left the Enemies of Truth and Liberty to humble themselves in Sackcloth and Ashes.

B. W.

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

IF you think the following worth a Place in your Paper, your inserting it will oblige some of your Readers, besides your humble Servant,

A. B.

IN looking over a Sermon preach'd in 1755, by Dr. Smith of Philadelphia, I was much pleas'd with the following pathetic Address, as I thought it well adapted to all Times when the Rights and Priviledges of the Colonies are attack'd, whether by foreign Enemies, or homebred Foes.

---“ **I** S this a time for dissentions about matters of trivial moment, when the very vitals of liberty are attacked, which, once gone, may never be recovered? Is this a time to decline toils, or dangers, or expence, when all lies at stake, for which a wise man would chuse to live, or dare to die!

In times past, when Liberty, travelling from soil to soil, had deserted almost every corner of the world, and was prepared to bid an everlasting adieu to her last best retreat, the *British Isles*; our great FOREFATHERS, (whose memories be blest) anticipating her departure, came into these remote regions. They encounter'd difficulties innumerable. They sat down in places before untrod by the foot of any Christian, fearing less from Savage beasts and Savage men, than from Slavery the worst of Savages. To preserve at least one corner of the world, sacred to Liberty and undefiled Religion, was their glorious purpose. In the mean time the Storm blew over, and the sky brightened in the mother-land. Liberty raised her drooping head, and trimmed her fading laurels. Halcyon-days succeeded, and their happy influence extended even into this new world. The Colonies rose and flourished. Our fathers saw it and rejoiced. They begat sons and daughters, resigned the prosecution of their plan into our hands, and departed into the mansions of rest ———

BUT lo! the storm gathers again, and sits deeper and blacker with boding aspect! and shall we be so degenerate as to desert the sacred trust consign'd to us for the happiness of posterity? shall we tamely suffer the pestilential breath of tyrants to approach this garden of our fathers and blast the fruit of their labours?

NO——ye illustrious shades, who perhaps now look down with anxiety on our conduct! we pronounce, by all your glorious toils, that it shall not, must not be! If we are not able to make those who mourn in bonds and darkness round us, share the blest effects of Liberty, and diffuse it through this vast continent, we will at least preserve this spot sacred to its exalted name; and Tyranny and Injustice shall not enter in, till the Body of the last Freeman hath filled up the breach ———

SPIRIT

SPIRIT of ancient Britons! where art thou? into what happier region art thou fled or flying? Return, oh return into our bosoms! expel every narrow and groveling sentiment, and animate us in this glorious cause! Where the voice of public virtue and public liberty calls, thither may we follow, whether to life or death! May these inestimable blessings be transmitted safe to our posterity? and may there never be wanting champions to vindicate them against every disturber of human kind, as long as there shall be found remaining of all those who assume the name of Britons, either a tongue to speak, or a hand to act!"



EXTRACTS from the Supplement to the *Boston Gazette* of *Monday, October the 2d, 1765.*

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 26.

In Assembly, Saturday, September 21, 1765. A. M.

THE House taking into Consideration, that an Act of Parliament imposing certain Stamp Duties and other Duties, on His Majesty's Subjects in America, whereby they conceive some of their most essential and valuable Rights, as British Subjects, to be deeply affected, think it a Duty they owe to themselves, and their Posterity, to come to the following Resolutions, viz.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That the Assemblies of this Province have, from time to time, whenever Requisitions have been made by His Majesty, for carrying on military Operations for the Defence of America, most cheerfully and liberally contributed their full Proportion of Men and Money for these Services.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That whenever His Majesty's Service shall, for the future, require the Aids of the Inhabitants of this Province, in a CONSTITUTIONAL way, it shall be their indispensable Duty most cheerfully and liberally to grant to His Majesty their Proportion of Men and Money, for the Defence, Security, and other publick Services of the British American Colonies.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That the Inhabitants of this Province are intitled to all the Liberties, Rights and Privileges of His Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain, or elsewhere; and that the Constitution of Government in this Province is founded on the natural Rights of Mankind, and the noble Principles of English Liberty, and therefore is, or ought to be, perfectly free.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That it is the inherent Birth-right, and indubitable Privilege, of every British Subject, to be taxed only by his own Consent, or that of his legal Representatives, in Conjunction with his Majesty, or his Substitutes.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That the only legal Representatives of the Inhabitants of this Province, are the Persons they annually elect to serve as Members of Assembly.

Resolved,

Resolved, therefore, N. C. D.

That the Taxation of the People of this Province by any other Persons whatsoever, than such their Representatives in Assembly is UNCONSTITUTIONAL and subversive of their most valuable Rights.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That the laying Taxes upon the Inhabitants of this Province IN ANY OTHER MANNER, being manifestly subversive of public Liberty, must, of necessary Consequence, be utterly destructive of public Happiness.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That the vesting an Authority in the Courts of Admiralty to decide in Suits relating to the Stamp Duties, and other Matters, foreign to their proper Jurisdiction, is highly dangerous to the Liberties of His Majesty's American Subjects, contrary to Magna Charta, the great Charter and Fountain of English Liberty, and destructive of one of their most DARLING and ACKNOWLEDGED RIGHTS, that of TRIALS BY JURIES.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Restraints imposed by several late Acts of Parliament on the Trade of this Province, at a Time when the People labour under an enormous Load of Debt, must of Necessity be attended with the most fatal Consequences, not only to this Province, but to the Trade of our Mother Country.

Resolved, N. C. D.

That this House think it their Duty thus firmly to assert, with Modesty and Decency, their inherent Rights, that their Posterity may learn and know, that it was not with their Consent and Acquiescence, that any Taxes should be levied on them by any Persons but their own Representatives; and are desirous that these their Resolves should remain on their Minutes, as a Testimony of the Zeal and ardent Desire of the present House of Assembly to preserve their INESTIMABLE RIGHTS, which, as Englishmen, they have possessed ever since this Province was settled, and to transmit them to their latest Posterity."

EXTRACTS from the *Newport Mercury* of *Monday, October the 7th, 1765.*

Extracts from the Constitutional Courant, No. 1. Printed by Andrew Marvel, at the Sign of the Bribe refused, on Constitution Hill, North-America.

SATURDAY, September 21, 1765.

—BY the late law erecting a stamp office among us, the national faith, in which, till now, we thought we might securely confide, is violated, and we robbed of our dearest rights.

What then is to be done? Shall we sit down quietly, while the yoke of slavery is wreathing about our necks? He that is stupid enough to plead for this deserves to be a *slave*. Shall we not hope still that some resource is left us in the royal care and benevolence? We have the happiness to be governed by one of the best of kings, who is our common father, and must be supposed to be under no temptations to sacrifice the rights of one part of his subjects to the caprice of another.

What

What is a slave, but one who depends upon the will of another for the enjoyment of his life and property? This surely is a very precarious tenure. He that assumes to himself a right to deprive me of any part of my estate (however small that part may be) on certain occasions, of which he is to be the sole judge, may with equal reason deprive me of the whole, when he thinks proper: And he that thinks he has a right to strip me of all my property, when he sees fit, may with equal justice deprive me of my life, when he thinks his own interest requires it. If a king, tho' invested with lawful authority, adopts these principles, none will hesitate to pronounce him a tyrant. But where is the difference between a prince who treats his subjects in this manner, and a number of fellow-subjects who usurp such a power over others? All that I can see, is, that in the former case we should groan under the oppression of one man; but in the latter, under that of a great body of men, which will generally be by far the most intolerable, as it is much better to have only one tyrant than several hundreds.

This, my countrymen, is our unhappy lot: The same principles on which the vile minions of tyranny vindicate the present tax, will vindicate the most oppressive laws conceivable. They need only boldly assert, that *we are virtually represented in the British parliament*, that *they are the properest judges of the sums necessary to be raised, and of our ability to pay them*, therefore such a tax is equitable, be it what it will, tho' it reduces nine-tenths of us to instant beggary. If we throw in petitions against them, they need only say, *'tis against the known rules of this house to admit petitions against money bills*, and so forever deny us the liberty of being heard. Was there ever a wider door opened for the entrance of arbitrary power, with all its horrors? Can the annals of Turkey produce its parallel? Even there, where tyranny has long established her gloomy throne, the subject is frequently indulged the liberty of complaining under grievances, and often uses that liberty with success. Poor America! the bootless privilege of complaining, always allowed to the vilest criminals on the rack, is denied thee!

Let the British parliament be treated with all possible respect, while they treat us as fellow-subjects; but if they transgress the bounds prescribed them by the constitution, if they usurp a jurisdiction, to which they have no right; if they infringe our liberties, and pursue such measures as will infallibly end in a Turkish despotism; if they violate the public faith, and destroy our confidence in the royal promises, let us boldly deny all such usurped jurisdiction; we owe them no more subjection, in this respect, than the Divan of Constantinople; to seem to acknowledge such a claim, would be to court our chains. Be assured, my countrymen, whatever spirit we manifest on this juncture, it cannot be offensive to our sovereign: *He glories in being King of freemen, and not of slaves*. To shew that we are freemen, and resolve to continue so, cannot displease, but must endear us to him. It must endear us also to all the true sons of liberty in Great Britain, to see that we have carried over the Atlantic the genuine spirit of our ancestors.—We can offend none but a set of the blackest villains, and these we must always offend, unless we will tamely suffer them to tread down our rights at pleasure. With them, liberty is always treason, and an advocate for the people's rights, a sower of sedition. Let it be our honor, let it be our boast, to be odious to these foes to human kind; let us shew them that we consider them only as beasts of prey, formed to devour; that tho' full of loyalty to the best of kings, and ready to spill the last drop of our blood in his service, yet we

dare bid defiance to all who are betraying the sovereign, and sacrificing his people.

While too many to the westward are thinking of nothing but tamely yielding their necks to the yoke, it revives the courage of all who wish well to their country, to see such a noble spirit prevailing in the eastern colonies. There the gentlemen appointed to serve as tools to enslave their countrymen, have some of them gloriously disdained the dirty employment; they have scorned to raise their own fortunes by such detestable means; they have shewn that they esteem the public good, infinitely above all private emolument; in short, they have proved themselves TRUE LOVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY. Let their names be enrolled in the annals of fame; let them be embalmed to all posterity, and serve as examples to fire the breasts of patriots yet unborn. Others, we find, have been intimidated into a resignation, by those hardy sons of liberty, and have the mortification to see all their vile schemes of enriching themselves out of the plunder of their fellow-subjects, blasted in an instant. But what name shall we give those miscreants who still resolve to keep the detested office?—How hard must that heart be, which is insensible of the dearest and tenderest of all obligations? which feels no sympathy for a native country, oppressed and ruined? but can please itself with the hellish prospect of increasing private wealth by her spoils? Ye blots and stains of America! Ye vipers of human kind! Your names shall be blasted with infamy, the public execration shall pursue you while living, and your memories shall rot, when death has disabled you from propagating vassalage and misery any further: Your crimes shall haunt you like *spectres*, and take vengeance for the crimes of distressing innocence.

We cannot be enslaved without you reach out a helping hand: If you emulate the noble example of some of your fellow-officers, whose disinterestedness will indelibly dear them to generations yet unborn, the chains of thralldom cannot be put about our necks, at least the duration of our freedom will be prolonged. Dare you then bear a part in hastening its final extinction? Can you expect to escape the unseen hand of resentment, awakened by injuries like these? Assure yourselves the spirit of Brutus and Cassius is yet alive; *there are who dare strike a blow to avenge their insulted country*. Know ye vile miscreants, we love liberty, and we fear not to shew it. We abhor slavery, and detest the remotest aiders and abettors of our bondage: But native Americans, who are diabolical enough to help forward our ruin, we execrate as the worst of parricides. Parricides! 'tis too soft a term: Murder your fathers, rip up the bowels of your mothers, dash the infants you have begotten against the stones, and be blameless;---but enslave your country! entail vassalage, that worst of all human miseries, that sum of all wretchedness, on millions! This, this is guilt, this calls for heaven's fiercest vengeance. But rouse, rouse my countrymen, let the villain that is hardy enough to persist, do it at his peril. Shew them we have resentment no less keen than our Eastern brethren; will you tamely suffer the execution of a law that reduces you to the vile condition of slaves, and is abhorred by all the genuine sons of Liberty? Let the wretch that sleeps now, be branded as an enemy to his country.

PHILOLEUTHERUS.

—LET no man suffer his rights to be torn from him, for fear of the consequences of defending them; however dreadful they may be, the guilt of them does not lie at his door. However, I would wish my countrymen

countrymen to avoid such violent proceedings, if possible; but at the same time to oppose the execution of the Stamp Act, with a steady and perpetual exertion of their whole power; and by all means to endeavour, jointly and severally, to throw all possible obstructions in the way of its taking effect, and to treat with the utmost ignominy and detestation, all those enemies and betrayers of their country's most sacred rights, who officiously endeavour to enforce it: I would wish them never to pay one farthing of this tax, but leave the infamous officers, if they will have it, to take it by force, by way of robbery and plunder. For the moment we submit to pay this tax, as to law-lawful authority, that moment we commence as errant slaves as any in Turkey, the fence of our liberty and property is broken down, and the foundation of the English constitution, with respect to us, is utterly destroyed. Let us not flatter ourselves, that we shall be happier, or treated with more lenity than our fellow slaves in Turkey; human nature is the same every where, and unlimited power is as much to be dreaded among us, as it is in the most barbarous nations upon earth: It is slavery that hath made them barbarous, & the same cause will have the same effect upon us. The inhabitants of Greece, Rome, and Constantinople, were once free and happy, and the liberal arts and sciences flourished among them; but slavery has spread ignorance, barbarism and misery over those once delightful regions, where the people are sunk into a stupid insensibility of their condition, and the spirit of liberty, after being depressed above a thousand years, seems now to be lost irrecoverably. It is better to die in defence of our rights, than to leave such a state as this to the generations that succeed us.

It is easy to see that the ministry design to alter and overturn the English constitution, and have invented a number of expedients to break thro' the restraints that the laws lay upon arbitrary dispositions, and are labouring to become despotic and uncontrollable.

If the English parliament can lay these burdens upon us, they can also, if they please, take our whole property from us, and order us to be sold for slaves, or put to death. But how came the English parliament by such a right over us? They are chosen by the people of Great Britain to represent them. They have no power but what is delegated to them by their constituents; and those constituents have no power over our liberty or property. Their power (over these things at least) is purely local, and confined to the places they are chosen to represent; and it is plain they cannot represent the people of America, for that would deprive them of their most valuable rights as Englishmen, and be a contradiction to common sense.

Let none falsely insinuate, that this spirit of opposition to the Stamp Act, which prevails throughout the British dominions in America, has in it the least tincture of rebellion against lawful authority, or disloyalty to our king. Whoever brings such charges against us, is a slanderer and a villain. We have the highest degree of veneration for the laws and constitution of England; they are our birth right and inheritance, and we would defend them with our lives. We have the most affectionate loyalty to our rightful sovereign George the third, and his royal house, and we are ready to risk our lives and fortunes in his and their defence. We have the highest respect and reverence for the British parliament, which we believe to be the most august and respectable body of men upon earth, and we desire that all their rights, privileges and honours may forever be preserved to them, and to every rank and order of men in the kingdom of Great Britain.

Such

Such are our sentiments and affections towards our mother country. But, at the same time, we cannot yield up to her, or to any power on earth, our inherent and most valuable rights and privileges. If she would strip us of all the advantages derived to us from the English constitution, why should we desire to continue our connection? We might as well belong to France or any other power; none could offer a greater injury to our rights and liberties than is offered by the Stamp Act.—Let us never, for one moment, acknowledge that it is binding upon us, nor pay one farthing in obedience to it, for it was made by a power, that, by the fundamental laws that both they and we acknowledge, hath no jurisdiction over us. If any then take offence at the freedom with which they are treated, let them blush at the occasion given for it. Such an alarming attempt upon British liberty was never made before, nor I hope ever will again.

PHILO PATRIÆ.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 26.

In ASSEMBLY, September 21, 1765, A. M.

THE house taking into consideration, that an act of parliament has lately passed in England for imposing certain stamp duties and other duties, on his Majesty's subjects, in America, whereby they conceive some of their most essential and valuable rights, as British subjects, to be deeply affected, think it a duty they owe to themselves, and their posterity to come to the following Resolutions, viz.

Resolved N. C. D. That the assemblies of this province have, from time to time, whenever requisitions have been made by his Majesty, for carrying on military operations for the defence of America, most chearfully and liberally contributed their fully proportion of men and money for those services.

Resolved, N. C. D. That whenever his Majesty's service shall, for the future, require the aids of the inhabitants of this province, and they shall be called upon for that purpose, in a CONSTITUTIONAL way, it will be their indispensable duty most chearfully and liberally to grant to his Majesty their proportion of men and money, for the defence, security, and other publick services of the British American colonies.

Resolved, N. C. D. That the inhabitants of this province are entitled to all the liberties, rights and privileges of his Majesty's subjects in Great-Britain, or elsewhere; and that the constitution of government in this province is founded on the natural rights of mankind, and the noble principles of English liberty, and therefore is, or ought to be, perfectly free.

Resolved, N. C. D. That it is the inherent birth-right, and indubitable privilege, of every British subject, to be taxed only by his own consent, or that of his legal representatives, in conjunction with his Majesty, or his substitutes.

Resolved, N. C. D. That the only legal representatives of the inhabitants of this province, are the persons they annually elect to serve as members of assembly.

Resolved, therefore, N. C. D. That the taxation of the people of this province by any other persons whatsoever, than such their representatives in assembly, is UNCONSTITUTIONAL, and subversive of their most valuable rights.

Resolved,

Resolved, N. C. D. That the laying taxes upon the inhabitants of this province, IN ANY OTHER MANNER; being manifestly subversive of public liberty, must, of necessary consequence, be utterly destructive of public happiness.

Resolved, N. C. D. That the vesting an authority in the courts of admiralty to decide in suits relating to the stamp-duties, and other matters, foreign to their proper jurisdiction, is highly dangerous to the liberties of his Majesty's American subjects, contrary to Magna Charta; the great charter and fountain of English liberty, and destructive of one of their most DARLING and ACKNOWLEDGED RIGHTS, that of TRIALS by JURIES.

Resolved, N. C. D. That it is the opinion of this house, that the restraints imposed by several late acts of parliament on the trade of this province, at a time when the people labour under an enormous load of debt, must of necessity be attended with the most fatal consequences, not only to this province, but to the trade of our mother country.

Resolved, N. C. D. That this house think it their duty thus firmly to assert, with modesty and decency, their inherent rights, that their posterity may learn and know, that it was not with their consent and acquiescence, that any taxes should be levied on them by any person but their own representatives; and are desirous that these their resolves should remain on their minutes, as a testimony of the zeal and ardent desire of the present house of assembly to preserve their INESTIMABLE RIGHTS, which, as Englishmen, they have possessed ever since this province was settled, and to transmit them to their latest posterity.

We hear from Lancaster, that the people of that county had diverted themselves with the representation of the Stamp master for this province.

We hear that Z——h H—d, Stamp master for Maryland, after having, unperceived, left Annapolis, his place of residence, hurried on by his fear, rode his horse to death, and hardly gave himself time to breath till he got under the protection of the cannon at Fort George, in New-York, where he remains hid from the resentment of his countrymen, but not from the terrors of his conscience.

In letters by the last vessels from England it is said, that the people, in general, were highly pleased with the late change in the ministry; and that Mr. Pitt, in particular, tho' he had not accepted of any place in the administration, yet was so well satisfied with those appointed, that he had promised to be assisting with his advice and influence, if wanted.

NEW-YORK, September 30.

Tuesday last Captain Wright arrived here from the Bay of Honduras in 39 days: He says Mr. Cook's Negroes keep possession of great part of the New-River, and that they have been joined by so many of their brethren who have lately deserted from their masters, that they are now 70 strong, and well armed: That they sent a scout to the Spaniards, to know whether they might have protection there, in case the English obliged them to remove; but they were answered in the negative, and immediately ordered to their own territories; that they have killed several seamen belonging to the vessels there, that were going up the river in crafts, and among them one man belonging to Captain Wright, 3 to Captain Keersstead, one Spaniard that wanted to treat with them in favour of the English, and 3 to a London ship; and that a craft with 11 men was missing, and 'twas supposed had fallen into their hands, and was murdered by them; that the Negroes were in short
F
become

become formidable, and that the poor Baymen were so intimidated, that many of them were obliged to desert their works, and were at a loss for an assylum.

Captain Wright sailed from the Bay in company with Captain Thomas for London; the Captains Leake, Just, and Mc Carthy, for Philadelphia, Captain Godfrey, and another sloop for Rhode-Island; and Captain Adams, for Virginia; and left them all well off the Havannah.

Boston, September 30.

The following are sent to us copies of his Excellency's message to both houses of assembly, in their late session, and the answer of the house of representatives thereto.

Gentlemen of the Council, and Gentlemen of the house of Representatives.

A Ship is arrived in the harbour with stamped papers on board for the King's use in this province, and also with other stamped papers for the province of New-Hampshire and colony of Rhode-Island; as Mr. Oliver has declined the office of distributor of stamped paper, and cannot safely meddle with what are arrived, the care of 'em devolves to this government, as having a general charge of the King's interest within it. I have already laid this matter before the council, and they have referred it to a general court. I therefore now apply to you jointly to desire your advice and assistance in order to preserve the stamped papers designed for this government, being the King's property of very considerable value, safe and secure for his Majesty's further orders. I must also desire you at the same time to consider of the like preservative of the stamped papers designed for New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island, if the distributors appointed for those governments should decline to have the charge of 'em, and in such case the care of 'em will devolve to this government, equally with others.

May it please your Excellency,

THE house having given all due attention to your Excellency's message of this day, beg leave to acquaint your Excellency, that the stamped papers mentioned in your message are bro't here without any directions to this government: It is the sense of the house, that it may prove of ill consequence for them any ways to interest themselves in this Matter; We hope therefore your Excellency will excuse us, if we cannot see our way clear to give you any advice or assistance herein.

We are informed that a number of very spirited and pertinent resolves were preparing by some members of the house of representatives respecting the stamp-act, and the inherent unalienable rights of the people of the colonies, as they are affected by it. But the sudden and unexpected adjournment of the assembly prevented being communicated to the house.

It is merry eno' to observe, that the greatest enemy to the trade of the province, has lately put on the appearance of its friend, and affects to be mightily concerned lest a non-compliance with the stamp-act should embarrass and lessen it.

It is reported with too great a degree of probability, that the profits of the stamp-act were to be shared by more persons than the public are aware of.

Some

Some gentlemen who have seats in a certain great Ass—y, and hold places under the——, we are told will use all their influence to persuade their fellow townsmen, that the best and most certain way to prevent their being made slaves of by others, is to put their own chains on themselves; and that submitting to burdens is the readiest way to get rid of them.

NEWPORT, October 7.

We hear the Lawyers of New-Jersey have resolved to lose all Business, rather than make use of any Stamps. *A noble Resolution, worthy of universal Imitation!*

We hear, by Letters from New-York, that the Boston Commissioners, after their Arrival there, waited upon Lieut. Gov. Colden, and acquainted him with their Business in New-York. He received them very coldly, and told them, that the Meeting of the Commissioners was unconstitutional, unprecedented, and unlawful, and that he should give them no Kind of Countenance or Encouragement.

Extract of a letter from New-York, October 3.

“ On Monday Afternoon the Commissioners had a Meeting, at which were present those from Rhode-Island, Boston, and S. Carolina, and a standing Committee from the Lower House of this Province, appointed to hold a Correspondence with the neighbouring Governments upon the Stamp-Act, &c. On Tuesday arrived an Express from the Speaker of the Maryland Assembly, informing, that at the Request of some of the Members, Governor Sharpe immediately and cheerfully called the Assembly, who appointed three of the House to attend the Congress, who are expected in Town this Evening. Gov. Sharpe is much applauded for his Conduct.—Yesterday a Letter from the Lower House of the Jerseys came to Hand, informing, that on this Day the Members would convene, and appoint a Committee to join the Congress.—The Connecticut Commissioners are not arrived.”

We hear from Boston, that last Week the commanding Officer of the King's Ships in that Port, was arrested, and taken into Custody, for detaining Capt. Hulme's Ship, which brought over the Stamped Paper.

We also hear, that the said Ship was released, and brought up to the Town; but whether with the Stamped Paper on board or not, we can't learn.

By a Gentleman from Boston, we are informed, that a Ship arrived there last Week from London; and that a Letter from the Massachusetts Agent advised, that the Stamp-Act would probably soon be repealed.

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of
Monday, October 14, 1765.

BOSTON, October 14.

We hear from Braintree that the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of that Town, legally assembled on Tuesday the Twenty fourth of September last, unanimously voted, that Instructions should be given their Representative, for his Conduct in General Assembly, on this great Occasion—The Substance of these Instructions is as follows:

To

TO EBENEZER THAYER, Esq.

SIR,

“ **I**N all the Calamities which have ever befallen this Country, we have never felt so great a Concern, or such alarming Apprehensions, as on this Occasion.—Such is our Loyalty to the King, our Veneration for both Houses of Parliament, and our Affection for all our Fellow subjects in Britain, that Measures, which discover any Unkindness in that Country towards Us, are the more sensibly and intimately felt. And we can no longer forbear complaining, that many of the Measures of the late Ministry, and some of the late Acts of Parliament, have a Tendency, in our Apprehension, to divest us of our most essential Rights and Liberties.—We shall confine ourselves, however, chiefly to the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Stamp Act, by which a very burthensome, and in our Opinion, unconstitutional Tax, is to be laid upon us all; and we subjected to numerous and enormous Penalties, to be prosecuted, sued for, and recovered, at the Option of an Informer, in a Court of Admiralty without a Jury.—

“ We have called this a burthensome Tax, because the Duties are so numerous and so high, and the Embarrassments to Business in this infant, sparsely-settled Country, so great, that it would be totally impossible for the People to subsist under it, if we had no Controversy at all about the Right and Authority of imposing it. Considering the present Scarcity of Money, we have Reason to think, the Execution of that Act for a short Space of Time would drain the Country of its Cash, strip Multitudes of all their Property, and reduce them to absolute Beggary. And what the Consequence would be to the Peace of the Province, from so sudden a Shock and such a convulsive Change, in the whole Course of our Business and Subsistence, we tremble to consider.—We further apprehend this Tax to be unconstitutional: We have always understood it to be a grand and fundamental Principle of the Constitution, that no Freeman should be subjected to any Tax, to which he has not given his own Consent, in Person or by Proxy. And the Maxims of the Law as we have constantly received them are to the same Effect, that no Freeman can be separated from his Property, but by his own Act or Fault—We take it clearly, therefore, to be inconsistent with the Spirit of the Common Law, and of the essential fundamental Principles of the British Constitution, that we should be subjected to any Tax, imposed by the British Parliament: because we are not represented in that Assembly in any Sense, unless it be by a Fiction of Law, as insensible in Theory as it would be injurious in Practice, if such a Taxation should be grounded on it.—

“ But the most grievous Innovation of all, is the alarming Extension of the Power of Courts of Admiralty. In these Courts, one Judge presides alone! No Juries have any Concern there!—The Law, and the Fact, are both to be decided by the same single Judge, whose Commission is only during Pleasure, and with whom, as we are told, the most mischievous of all Customs has become established, that of taking Commissions on all Condemnations; so that he is under a pecuniary Temptation always against the Subject. Now, if the Wisdom of the Mother Country has thought the Independency of the Judges, so essential to an impartial Administration of Justice, as to render them independent of every Power on Earth, independent of the King, the Lords, the Commons, the People, nay independent, in Hope
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and Expectation of the Heir apparent, by continuing their Commissions after a Demise of the Crown; What Justice and Impartiality are we, at 3000 Miles distance from the Fountain to expect from such a Judge of Admiralty? We have all along thought the Acts of Trade in this respect a Grievance: but the Stamp-Act has opened a vast Number of Sources of new Crimes, which may be committed by any Man, and cannot, but be committed by Multitudes, and prodigious Penalties are annexed, and all these are to be tried by such a Judge of such a Court!—What can be wanting after this, but a weak or wicked Man for a Judge, to render us the most sordid and forlorn of Slaves? We mean the Slaves of a *Slave* of the Servants of a Minister of State:—We cannot help asserting therefore, that this Part of the Act will make an essential Change in the Constitution of Juries, and is directly repugnant to the Great Charter itself. For by that Charter “No Amercement shall be assessed, but by the Oath of honest and lawful Men of the Vicinage.”—And “No Freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized of his Freehold, or Liberties, or free Customs, nor passed upon, nor condemned, but by lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.”—So that this Act will “make such a distinction, and create such a Difference between” the Subjects in Great-Britain, and those in America as we could not have expected from the Guardians of Liberty in “Both.”—

As these, SIR, are our Sentiments of that Act, We, the Freeholders and other Inhabitants, legally assembled for this Purpose, must enjoin it upon you, to comply with no Measures or Proposals for countenancing the same, or assisting in the Execution of it, but by all lawful Means, consistent with our Allegiance to the King, and Relation to Great-Britain, to oppose the Execution of it, till we can hear the Success of the Cries and Petitions of America for Relief.

We further recommend the most clear and explicit Assertion and Vindication of our Rights and Liberties, to be entered on the Public Records; that the World may know, in the present and all future Generations, that we have a clear Knowledge and a just Sense of them, and, with Submission to Divine Providence, that we never can be Slaves.

Nor can we think it adviseable to agree to any Steps for the Protection of stamped Papers, or Stamp-Officers—Good and wholesome Laws we have already, for the Preservation of the Peace: And we apprehend there is no further Danger of Tumult and Disorder,—to which we have a well-grounded Aversion; and that any extraordinary and expensive Exertions, would tend to exasperate the People and endanger the public Tranquility, rather than the contrary.—Indeed we cannot too often inculcate upon you our Desires, that all extraordinary Grants and expensive Measures, may, upon all Occasions, as much as possible be avoided.—The Public Money, of this Country, is the Toil and Labour of the People, who are under many uncommon Difficulties and Distresses, at this Time: So that all reasonable Frugality ought to be observed. And we would recommend particularly, the strictest Care, and the utmost Firmness to prevent all unconstitutional Draughts upon the Public Treasury.

To JACOB FOWLE and WILLIAM BOURN, Esq's. the present Representatives
of the Town of MARBLEHEAD.

GENTLEMEN,

WE the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the said Town of Marblehead, in Town-Meeting assembled, the Twenty fourth Day of September, A. D. 1765, professing the greatest Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign,

vereign, and our sincere Regard and profound Reverence for the *British* Parliament as the most powerful and respectable Body of Men on Earth, yet, at the same time, being deeply sensible of the Difficulties and Distresses, to which that august Assembly's late Exertion of their Power, in and by the *Stamp-Act*, must necessarily expose us, think it proper, in the present critical Conjunction of Affairs, to give you the following INSTRUCTION, *Viz.*

THAT you promote, and readily join in, such dutiful Remonstrances and humble Petitions to the King and Parliament, and other decent Measures, as may have a Tendency to obtain a Repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, or Alleviation of the heavy Burdens thereby imposed on the *American British* Colonies. And for as much as great Tumults, tending to the Subversion of Government, and the great Reproach of the Inhabitants of this Province, have lately happened, and several Outrages committed by some evil-minded People in the Capital Town thereof—You are, therefore, directed to bear your Testimony against, and do all in your Power to suppress and prevent, all riotous Assemblies and unlawful Acts of Violence upon the Persons or Substance of any of His Majesty's Subjects:

AND that you do not give your Assent to any Act of Assembly that shall imply the Willingness of your Constituents, to submit to any internal Taxes, that are imposed otherwise than by the Great and General Court of this Province, according to the Constitution of this Government.

OTHER Matters we leave to your Prudence, trusting you will act, as we apprehend you have ever done, consistent with Honor and Justice to your Constituents and with due Regard to the publick Welfare.

Attest, *Benja. Boden*, Town-Clerk.

From the New York Gazette.

IT is hoped no Man who has the least Pretence to the Character of a Gentleman, a Freeman, or an honest Man; or who would desire not to be thought an Enemy to his Country, to the English Constitution, and to Mankind; will ever purchase, or apply for one Stamp Paper, whatever Inconveniencies he may be reduced to.—None can possibly be equal to the loss of every Thing valuable in the English Constitution, and the Entailment of Slavery upon all succeeding Generations.

Last Thursday Se'nnight arrived at New York, His Majesty's Packet Boat the Harriot, in 6 Weeks from Falmouth, by whom we have the following Advices, *viz.*

L O N D O N, August 15.

ON Wednesday his Grace the Duke of Richmond kissed his Majesty's hand, on his being appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France.

Yesterday the Hon. Mr. Charles York kissed his Majesty's hand, upon his promotion to be Attorney-General, in the room of Sir Fletcher Norton.

It is said that Sir Fletcher Norton has obtained a Patent of Precedency, by which he will take place next to the Solicitor General, and before all other of his Majesty's council.

Private letters from Paris advise, that the arrival of Mr. Wilkes there was in order to wait more conveniently the success of very powerful intercessions in his favour, making by that gentleman's friends on this side the water.

Some dispatches of importance have this week been received from our Ambassador at Madrid, which are said to promise a favourable accommodation with regard to the payment of the Manilla ransom bills.

His

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle has been sent for to Court, and was expected in town last night.

Tuesday the West India Merchants gave a grand entertainment at the King's Arms tavern, Cornhill, to the Rt. Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, his Grace the Duke of Grafton, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Harcourt, and several other persons of distinction.

It is whispered that a certain celebrated Commoner has publicly declared, that unless our new Ministers immediately insist upon the payment of the Canada bills, and the performance of the other articles, which still remain unexecuted of the late peace, he shall think them every whit as improper for their employments as their predecessors, and be extremely sorry that they have any concern in managing the affairs of the kingdom.

Yesterday was held a board of Admiralty, said to be on matters of great importance; and it was talked that two naval expeditions were on the carpet; one under Commodore Graves, to the coast of Africa; and that Ad. Edgecome would command another to Newfoundland.

It is talked that there will shortly be a change among the Commissioners of his Majesty's Stamp-duty.

It is reported that Cape Breton, and some other important places on the sea coasts of North America, are speedily to be put in a proper state of defence.

A commission it is said is making out for the redemption of the British subjects, now in slavery in the several piratical States of Barbary, &c. with which our commander on that coast is to be charged as Ambassador Extraordinary.

P H I L A D E P H I A.

We hear the STAMP PAPERS for this Province is arrived in Capt. Holland, who lies at New-Castle under the Protection of one of his Majesty's sloops of War. It is impossible to conceive the consternation this melancholy news has diffused thro' this City—Rage, resentment and grief appeared painted in every countenance, and the mournful language of one and all our inhabitants seems to be farewell, farewell liberty!—AMERICA, AMERICA doomed by a premature sentence to slavery!—was it thy loyalty—thy filial obedience—thy exhausted treasures—and the rivers of blood shed by thy sons in extending the glory of the British arms, provoked thy mother country thus unjustly to involve thee in distress, by tearing from thee, the darling privileges of thy children?—or was it the perfidy?—but I cannot proceed—tears of vexation and sorrow stop my pen—O my country, my country!—

At a meeting of the Lawyers at the Supream Court held at Perth Amboy, on the 20 ult. like true born sons of Liberty, and lovers of their country, the chief Justice having proposed the following *Queries*, agreed and came into the under mentioned *Resolves*, which will always redound to their Honor.

First. Whether if the Stamps should arrive, and be placed at the City of Burlington, by or after the first of November, they would, as practitioners, agree to purchase them, or any of them for the necessary proceedings in the law?

Resolved, by the whole body N. C. they would not, but rather suffer their private interest, to give way to the public good, protesting at the same time against all indecent or riotous behaviour which they will discountenance by every means in their power to preserve order, and by an absolute refusal to make

make use of the Stamps, and other quiet methods, endeavour to obtain a repeal of the law.

Second. Whether it was their opinion, that should the act take place the duties could possibly be paid in gold and silver?

Answered by the whole body, It could not be paid in gold and silver even for one year.

Third. Their opinion was desired, whether, as the act required, the Governor and Chief Justice to superintend the distributor, he should be obliged to take charge of the distribution of the Stamps by order and appointment of the Governor, if he should think proper to fix upon him for that office.

Answered and advised not to take it upon him, the Governor not being impowered by the act to appoint, or if he was, it was left to the Chief Justices option, and that it would be incompatible with his office as Chief Justice.

[A most laudable Example this! worthy the Imitation of all other Chief Justices and Gentlemen of the Bar!]

N E W - Y O R K. October 7.

A Letter from London dated August 10 says, I am very sorry to hear such repeated bad accounts from *America*, but at the same Time I have the pleasure to tell you, that it is generally believed, that the new Ministry will repeal the *STAMP ACT* this Session; for my own part, I make no doubt of it.

N E W P O R T. October 7.

We hear, by Letters from New York, that the Boston Commissioners, after their Arrival there, waited upon Lieut. Gov. Colden, and acquainted him with their Business in New York. He received them very coldly, and told them, that the Meeting of the Commissioners was unconstitutional, unprecedented, and unlawful, and that he should give them no kind of Countenance or Encouragement.

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in London.

“WE now congratulate you on a total Change of the Ministers of State; and now is your Time to represent your Grievances, in a moving Manner, and I flatter myself you will be attended unto:—Keep clear of all Reflections, and be particular in your Facts, let them be well supported, and Consequences justly represented, in a striking Light, and the mutual Advantage that will arise to Great Britain and her Colonies, by being relieved from your present Burthens.”

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

You'll oblige an honest Marblehead-Man who dares to write and speak as he thinks, and not as he is told by your big ones, if you'll give the following a Place in your next Paper.

Your's, &c.

THAT some Persons who have imprudently let their volatile Tongues expose the Naughtiness of their Hearts, and thereby given too much Reason to suspect that they are capable of sacrificing the Honor, Rights and Privileges of their Country for private Advantage, should be terribly afraid of the Resentments of an abused People, is no Wonder: But while some are bearing Testimony against Mobs, and at the same Time declaring that they will soon

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import into this Province a certain Species of contraband Goods in an illicit Way, it may not be unseasonable or unkind to hint to such bold Adventurers, that so good a Look-out is kept as makes it more than probable they may be taken in the very Act, when not only the vile Merchandize will be seized, but very severe Penalties also incurred; for they may depend upon it that those now in power will by no Means be base enough to suffer or admit of any unlawful Compositions, whereby the Publick will be defrauded of their Dues, as the S—m & M——d Men know was the Case in some particular Instances while under a Cockolian or Shell Fish Administration. —

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

I Han't rit nothing to be printed a great while: but I can't sleep a nights, one wink hardly, of late.—I hear so much talk about the stamp act and the governor's speech, that it seems as if 'twould make me crazy.—The governor has painted a dreadful picture of the times after the first of November—I hate the thoughts of the first of November.—I hope twill be a great storm, and black and gloomy weather, as our faces and hearts will all be.—Tis worse than all the fifth of Novembers that ever was.—The Pope never did half so much mischief, as that stamp act will do, if the world stands as long as the Pope has done.—However, seems to me the governor has represented the times worse than they will be.—For in the first place they do say, that thieves and robbers and rioters, ay and lyars too, and all sorts of rogues, may be punish'd as well after the stamp act takes place as before,—and as to suing poor folks for money, that does no body no good but the lawyers.—But as to trade and shipping and such like, it seems to me we had better be without the most of that than with it—for it only makes rum and such things cheap, and so makes folks drink toddy and flip instead of cyder, when they an't half so good and holsome—and it makes us all beaus, and dresses us up fine.—We got into a way on't o late,—our young men buy them blue furtouts, with fine yellow buttons, and boughton broad cloth coats jackets and breeches—and our young women wear calicoes, chinces and laces, and other nicknacks to make them fine.—But the naughty jacks and trollops must leave off such vanity, and go to nitting and spinning—I always used to keep a comely boughten coat to go to meeting in, but I'll vow I'll never put it on again after first November, if the stamp act takes place; I'll cut up the hide of my fat Ox that I'm fattening for my winter's beef first, and make a coat of that, with the hair on.—I'm sure I could be edified as much with the sermon, as if I had on a royal robe, and be as warm in it too.—I've read somewhere that the folks in old England before Cæsar went there, wore such skins of beasts, and yet loved liberty, and knew how to keep it too.—I don't believe our young folks would love to dance together at husking frolicks, and to kiss one another a bit the less, if they wore woolen shirts and shifts of their own making, than they do now in their fine ones—I do say, I won't buy one shilling worth of any thing that comes from old England, till the stamp act is appeal'd, nor I won't let any of my sons and daughters; I'd rather the Spittlefield weavers should pull down all the houses in old England, and knock the brains out of all the wicked great men there, than this country should loose their liberty.—Our fore fathers came over here for liberty of conscience, and we have been nothing better than servants to 'em all along this 100 years, and got just enough to keep soul and body together, and buy their goods to keep us from freezing to death, & we won't be their negroes. Providence never designed

us for negroes, I know, for if it had it wou'd have given us black hides, and thick lips, and flat noses, and short woolly hair, which it han't done, and therefore never intended us for slaves—This I know is good a fillogissim as any at colledge, I say we are as handsome as old England folks, and so should be as free.

So I don't like the governor's speech very well, any more than I did tother speech that he made, where he has not done fairly by me.—I'me sure I wrote a bundance, about Hemp before he said a word about it—Mr. U and I wrote a good many papers, and us'd many arguments for it, and told the way of managing ont, a year or two before the governor said a word about it—Ay, and a great many folks were stirred up to try it, by our writings too, and I believe raly Mr. U and I ought to have the honor and glory and profit ont too—of bringing ont into fashion.—I dont see why it would not be reasonable for our Deputies to make Mr. U and I a grant or two for our extraordinary services, as they do sometimes to other great men that dont deserve it half so much.

HUMPHRY PLOUGHJOGGER.

By a Computation made, it appears that if the Stamp Act should take Place, the Retailers and Tavernkeepers must pay about £. 20,000 Old Tenor every Year for renewing their Licences; and that the whole Charge for Stamp Papers to this Province will amount in one Year to above £. 40,000, which is more than double what the common Charges of Government ought to be in Time of Peace, and is perhaps a larger Sum than the current Cash of the Country—what then must become of the Trade? But notwithstanding this, it is said a Gentleman of Distinction who has lately made the Tour of S-l-m and M—ble—d, has been pleased to give it out, that there are some Persons in those Towns who would willingly make Use of Stamp Paper if they could in any Ways obtain them—the true Motives for so extraordinary a Conduct, are doubtless well known to the Gentleman who it should seem has been let into this Secret.

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Evening-Post* of Monday, October 14, 1765.

OBSERVATIONS on the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

Read them with Attention!

IT is sufficiently known, that arbitrary power would steal in upon us, were we not extremely watchful to prevent its progress, and were there not an easy method of conveying the alarm from one end of the kingdom to the other. The spirit of the people must be frequently roused in order to curb the ambition of the court; and the dread of rousing this spirit must be employed to prevent that ambition. Nothing is so effectual to this purpose as the Liberty of the Press, by which all the learning, wit, and genius of the nation, may be employed on the side of liberty, and every one be animated to its defence. As long, therefore, as the republican part of our government can maintain itself against the monarchical, it must be extremely jealous of the liberty of the press, as of the utmost importance to its preservation.

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Since therefore the Liberty of the Press is so essential to the support of our mixed government; this sufficiently decides the second question, Whether this Liberty be advantageous or prejudicial? there being nothing of greater importance in every state than the preservation of the antient government, especially if it be a free one. But I fain would go a step farther, and assert, that such a liberty is attended with so few inconveniencies, that it may be claimed as the common right of mankind, and ought to be indulged them almost in every government, except the ecclesiastical, to which indeed it would prove fatal. We need not dread from this liberty any such ill consequences as followed from the harangues of the popular demagogues of Athens and tribunes of Rome. A man reads a news paper alone and coolly. There is none present from whom he can catch the passion by contagion. He is not hurried away by the force and energy of action. And should he be wrought up to ever so seditious a humour, there is no violent resolution presented to him by which he can immediately vent his passion. The Liberty of the Press, therefore, however abused, can scarce ever excite popular tumults or rebellion. And as to those murmurs or secret discontents it may occasion, it is better they should get vent in words, that they may come to the knowledge of the magistrate before it be too late, in order to his providing a remedy against them. Mankind, it is true, have always a greater propension to believe what is said to the disadvantage of their governors, than the contrary; but this inclination is inseparable from them, whether they have liberty or not. A whisper may fly as quick, and be as pernicious as a pamphlet. Nay, it will be more pernicious, where men are not accustomed to think freely, or distinguish between truth and falsehood.

It has also been found, as the experience of mankind increases, that the people are no such dangerous monster as they have been represented, and that it is in every respect better to guide them, like rational creatures, than to lead or drive them like brute beasts. Before the united provinces set the example, toleration was deemed incompatible with good government; and it was thought impossible, that a number of religious sects should live in harmony and peace, and have all of them an equal affection to their common country, civil Liberty; and tho' this liberty seems to occasion some small ferment at present, it has not as yet produced any pernicious effects; and it is to be hoped, that men, being every day more accustomed to the free discussion of public affairs, will improve in the judgment of them, and be with greater difficulty seduced by every idle rumour and popular clamour.

It is a very comfortable reflection to the lovers of Liberty, that this peculiar privilege of Britain is of a kind that cannot easily be wrested from us, but must last as long as our government remains, in any degree, free and independent. It is seldom, that Liberty of any kind is lost all at once. Slavery has so frightful an aspect to men accustomed to freedom, that it must steal upon them by degrees, and must disguise itself in a thousand shapes, in order to be received. But if the Liberty of the Press ever be lost, it must be lost at once. The general laws against sedition and libelling are at present as strong as they can possibly be made. Nothing can impose a farther restraint, but either the clapping of an imprimatur upon the Press, or the giving to the court very large discretionary powers to punish whatever displeases them. But these concessions would be such a barefaced violation of Liberty, that they will, probably, be the last effort of a despotic government. We may conclude, that the Liberty of Britain, is gone for ever when these attempts shall succeed.

From

*From the New London Gazette, Sept. 20. 1765.**To the PRINTER S.*

MUCH has been said, in Great Britain and America, respecting the Stamp Act, and duties for America, soon (if not happily prevented, to take place amongst us : And something has been done, by the American governments ; to avert this calamity (the heaviest we ever felt from any earthly power ;) but far from enough ; considering the nature and aspects of it. As it is perpetual—and strikes at our most important civil liberties : “ Such “ as our rights of being taxed by our own representatives, and of trial by “ our own Peers, ”---with others. And especially, as it will likely be followed with other taxes, yet more heavy and ruinous—(for what bounds can you set to the covetous and ambitious desires of a grasping ministry, whenever they shall be in power). And if the scribbling zealous advocates for these measures, can have their will, the ruin of our liberties and properties will be compleated in the most shocking manner, by a military force, sent over and imposed upon us, to force us to a slavish non-resistance and passive obedience, and revet the chains of slavery upon us for ever.

It is a serious and very affecting subject ; and fills the minds of the most sensible people throughout America, with great consternation ; far greater than the Canada French ever did, in our fiercest wars : as that was like to be a short conflict ; but this like to be irrecoverable ruin, in our most valuable civil interests, to the latest generations.

Perhaps it may be seasonable to offer some tho'ts tending to evince the propriety, and importance of an union of the American governments in a general congress ; according to the proposal of the late Boston assembly, to come into some united measures (if possible) to prevent the impending evils which threaten us ; and the rather, as CIVIS * seems to think it sufficient for our general assembly only to determine for themselves, & their constituents, without other measures, and possibly some others may be of his opinion.

I would therefore (1st) inquire into the evils apprehended from the late measures of the British ministry. 2dly, What British subjects in America may do, and what, likely, they will do. 3dly, What the governments have done ; may, and we humbly conceive, would do well to do further. Lastly, Conclude with some advices to my dear countrymen.

I will 1st inquire into the evils apprehended from the late measures of the British ministry. If there be no evils apprehended, and to be feared, from their measures ; then no congress is needful.---But very unhappy for us, their measures (however intended) we think have been chiefly calculated to hurt us exceedingly : and in the end to hurt the subjects in Britain also.

It is needless to say, the late act of trade is embarrassing and impoverishing---Lays a very unequal burthen on Americans---and threatens the ruin of our trade. 'Tis already severely felt. But this *Stamp Act* affects us much more nearly, and the consequences are likely to be far more fatal, than the other would have been.

At first view---Is it not a dead weight upon learning ?---Is it not a heavy burthen, and embarrassment upon all business ?---Are not the number of things charg'd, the severity of its penalties ; and these to be adjudged by a

* *A writer in the New-Haven Gazette, who sets forth the arguments of the ministry, which may be noted in their place.*

Court of Admiralty, contrary to the constant and immemorable usage of our nation, and this land, absolutely shocking? And which is the worst part—Does it not subvert our most important *Civil Liberties*? Such as—First, --A right to tax ourselves, by our representatives; which we esteem a fundamental birth-right-privilege.

It is well known, by common law, this is the birth right of Englishmen ---and has been confirmed by acts of parliament, and sealed with the blood of thousands. In short, if we have not this right, we have no property: Nothing to have and hold, which we can call our own. But if, pursuant to the power exerted in this act, we may be taxed at pleasure, by the will of others, without bounds or limitations; and without consent or representation; this birth-right-privilege is at an end with us. How have we it in America, more than the slaves in Turkey?

To pretend we are *Virtually* represented by the members of parliament, is such a weak flimsy argument, as deserves no answer. Pray by what members? Is it those chosen by the city of London, or any other city, Shire or Borough? For we know not to whom to apply as our representatives. The particular members chosen by and for any Borough or Shire, can say, they are the representatives of such Borough or Shire (tho' all are not qualified, & do not vote in their election) because chosen by the freemen of such Shire; who, by constitution, act for the whole. But it is otherwise as to the Americans. Who of the members can say, I am the representative of the Americans; without the consent or vote of a single American?---And if no one can say it, the right is in no one, and consequently not in the whole. Five hundred noughts, can never make an unit.

How are we represented by any member of parliament, more than by the King?--Or how is our case (in point of representation) better than if this Act was imposed on us by *Royal Prerogative* only; which all allow to be *Unconstitutional*.

'Tis ridiculous to common sense, that two millions of free people can be represented by a representative who is elected by no one of them. Or that Americans have, or can have, a representation is parliament, in fact.

Another fundamental of British liberty, is that of trial by our own Peers—Jurymen, after the manner of England. If there be any privilege in the common law it is this. If any in *Magna Charta*, secure and sacred to the subject; it is this right of trial by our own Peers.

It was one thing immediately in contest, in the baron war, which those sensible noble patrons of liberty asserted to be their right; for which they associated and fought, and which they would and did have secured, as an indefeasible inheritance to themselves, and posterity for ever.—No privilege, I think, is oftener repeated in *Magna Charta*. 'Tis express; “An Earl and
“ a Baron shall not be amerced, but by their Peers; and according to the
“ manner of the offence. And again, no freemen shall be taken, nor im-
“ prison'd, nor disseiz'd, nor out-law'd, nor exil'd, nor destroy'd in any
“ manner; nor will we pass upon him, or condemn him, but by the lawful
“ judgment of his Peers, or by the law of the land.”—And it was fully
provided, as to what was past, where any has suffer'd in lands, or chattels,
or privileges, &c. without lawful judgment of their Peers, such judgments
were annul'd, and their rights to be restored; and for the future; 'tis
brought over again and again with respect to the English and Welch both;
processes shou'd be in England “ by the lawful judgment of their Peers,
“ according to the law of England,” in Wales, “ by their Peers, ac-
I cording

" cording to the law of Wales." And 'tis made unalterable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians. So that this invaluable charter, must be destroyed, before we can be deprived of this precious privilege. 'Tis express in these lines, "We will not obtain of any one for ourselves, or for any other, any thing whereby any of these concessions or of these liberties may be revok'd or annihilated, and if any such thing be obtain'd, it shall be null and void, nor shall ever be made use of, by ourselves or any other."

And after all this security, can any earthly power rightfully deprive us of this privilege! Is not every act of this kind declared, in the charter to be absolutely null and void. Yet is not this inestimable privilege taken away from Americans by this act—as we are subject to a trial (in things relative to it) in a court of admiralty, or one admiralty—however unskill'd, disaffected, or tyrannick he may chance to be. Yea, subject to be tried by them, we know not where, nor how remote; whether in England, or America; wherever jurisdiction is granted; at the will and election of infamous informers. What would a commoner and freeman in Great Britain think of this?—Would they not (if their own case) resent it with high indignation? And shall Americans, as freeborn and good subjects as they, be deemed rebels, if they absolutely refuse such trials; and claim their indefeasible birth-right-liberty, to be tried by their own Peers, after the manner of England, and of America likewise; till this surprizing act.

[To be continued.]

Messi'rs FLEETS,

By giving a Place in your next to the following DREAM, upon a Subject, which engages Men's Minds very much, when they are awake, as well as when they are asleep, you may perhaps gratify some of your Readers,——
Your's, &c. B. C.

ONE Night as I lay slumb'ring in my Bed,
Dark images crouded into my head.
I thought, as thro' the town I walk'd alone,
I at a distance heard a grievous moan.
Attention rous'd; I then approach'd more near,
And found a croud of PAPERS gather'd there.
To each of them, as to the Prophet's As
A tongue was giv'n to tell his wretched case.
I watch'd their mournful words, with vast concern,
Hoping the cause, for which they met, to learn.
They spoke by turns: In this they all agree,
To plead the cause of *English liberty*;
And deprecate the woe, which each one thought
Would by the *St--p A-t*, soon on them be brought.

' Our case,' says one, ' grows more & more distress'd,
' None of our grievances are yet redress'd.
' Our sad complaint, and humble supplication,
' Which to the highest powers of the nation
' We long ago address'd, was soon rejected,
' And all our pray'rs and tears were still neglected.'

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The case of all is hard : each thinks his own
The worst. Then all, with many a piercing groan,
Expostulate and say ' Oh !——

- ' Must I,' the *Bond* cries, ' suffer the abuse
- ' Of being st--pt, when I'm of so much use
- ' To men of all professions, rich and poor,
- ' Whose property I daily do secure ?
- ' Those that are honest, honest must remain ;
- ' And he that tries to cheat, tries but in vain,
- ' While I exert my skill, the rogue to catch ;
- ' And all his false dishonest motions watch.
- ' Must I be crush'd, and fall a sacrifice
- ' To cruel tyr---y ? Will none arise
- ' Of all my friends, to save me from this doom
- ' Which will, unless they interpose, soon come ?'

Him interrupt the *Papers* of the Court :
Summons, and *Writ*, and all of ev'ry sort.

- ' Must we be st--pt, when we so much have done
- ' To serve the present, and the ages gone ?
- ' We've call'd the debtor to discharge his debt ;
- ' We many rogues at justice' bar have set.
- ' Into the L----rs hands, many a Jo——
- ' We've flily put, that so their tongues might go.
- ' And can they find no tongues to plead our cause,
- ' Which does appear so just, by nature's laws ?
- ' If ne'er before, sure now, without a fee,
- ' They'l plead ; and seek to gain our liberty.

The *Probate Papers* next, with many a sigh,
' Must we be st--pt?' with tender accent cry :
' We who our life and breath, so freely spend,
' The fatherless and widow to defend.
' And dare their needy and defenceless state,
' So boldly plead against the rich and great.
' Let not that cruel st--p destroy our pow'r,
' To help the helpless, in the needy hour.'

With grief and anger mix'd, *Diploma* now
Starts from his seat, and knits his manly brow.
' Must I be st--pt,' says he, 'and basely die
' Under the oppressive hand of tyr---y ?
' When I have bent my utmost skill and knowledge,
' To serve the cause of learning and the College.
' Will all the men of science, me neglect,
' When I do them so carefully protect,
' From those indignities, which vulgar men
' Would otherwise be bold to cast on them ?
' When I their education tell around,
' And cause their reputation to abound,
' Shall I no privilege hereby obtain,
' But cry, to those I've serv'd, for help in vain ?

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The *Licence Paper* next, with ruddy face
 No longer can in silence keep his place;
 But cries, with spirits high, and blood inflam'd,
 ' Think I'll be st—pt ! I'll sooner much be d—d.
 ' For ages past, I've fill'd the gen'rous bowl,
 ' And pour'd seraphic pleasures on the soul
 ' Of old and young, the statesman and the priest;
 ' And lull'd their troubled minds to quiet rest.
 ' I've rais'd their drooping spirits, when sunk low,
 ' And dissipated all their grief and woe.
 ' But with unquenched thirst they all shall pine,
 ' If they won't pity such a case as mine.'

The *Paper* which retails the weekly news,
 Seems also bent the St--p A-t to refuse:
 And cries, 'oh hard indeed must my fate be,
 ' If from the D—I's foot I mayn't be free,
 ' To bear *the D—I's Tail's* * enough for me. }
 ' Who of you all has shewn a readier mind,
 ' At once to please and profit all mankind?
 ' I travel far and near; the world I range
 ' And carry with me, all that's *new* and strange.
 ' Advices of importance, I convey;
 ' As well as merry tales, to please the gay.
 ' Must I burden'd by this cruel St--p,
 ' Which will my speed, & progress greatly cramp?'
 He sigh'd, and said no more. Next him arose
 The *Almanack*, the St--p A-t to oppose:
 And says, with heavy heart, and downcast look,
 As though, by all his friends, he'd been forsok.
 ' I tho't I'd friends enough, to keep me free,
 ' From being hurt by this calamity,
 ' Both men and women, I have fought to win,
 ' And all my days, a humble *Courtier* been.
 ' I always dress'd me new, from year to year,
 ' That I the more engaging might appear.
 ' I try'd, by turns, as *Trimmers* do, to please
 ' Both rich and poor, and men of all degrees.
 ' I talk'd about the Stars, and future scenes;
 ' I us'd a mystic style, and told my Dreams.
 ' By signs infallible, I pointed out
 ' Those days, which great events would bring about.
 ' But yet sometimes, I dar'd not be exact;
 ' For fear some jealous people should suspect
 ' I us'd dishonest arts; and was so evil
 ' As, in dark cases, to consult the D—I.
 ' I'm sure my faults, which have been very few,
 ' Can't be the cause of what I undergo.

* *A vulgar Name for part of a Printing Press.*

‘ I beg for help, which if deny’d, I fear
 ‘ I cannot live to see another year.’

The other *Papers* told their piteous case,
 But with such heart-felt anguish and distress,
 As render’d inarticulate their voice ;
 All I heard more, was a hoarse murm’ring noise.

A few besides myself, I tho’t drew near ;
 The wretched *Papers* dying groans to hear.
 And all seem’d touch’d with sympathetic grief ;
 And to each other said ; ‘ can no relief,
 ‘ At all be found ? come let us all unite,
 ‘ To show the *Paper’s* case, in a true light
 ‘ To all their friends, (for many friends they have)
 ‘ Perhaps ’tis not too late, their lives to save.’

Their wretched case, was soon abroad declar’d ;
 Which none could help but pity, when he heard.
 And deep resentment, first by few express’d,
 Against the St--p A-t, catch’d from breast to breast :
 ‘Till all did burn, with one increasing flame,
 The same were all their hearts ; their voice the same.

The KING and *Parliament* vouchsaf’d to hear
 The force of reason, and the ardent pray’r
 Of those who join’d to plead the *Papers* cause :
 And eas’d their *Burden* ; and repeal’d those *Laws*
 Which were so grievous.—Oh what sudden joy
 Fill’d all their hearts ! at once they all employ
 Their tongues and pens to celebrate the fame
 of KING and *Parliament* : and all proclaim
 Their wisdom, justice, tenderness, and love
 Shewn to these *Colonies*. ‘ May GOD above
 ‘ Save GEORGE our gracious King and always smile
 ‘ On all the Rulers of the British isle.’
 I eccho’d to this pray’r, and clap’d my hands,
 Which quick dissolv’d the soporific bands,
 That held my sleeping pow’rs. I op’d mine eyes,
 And found with no small wonder and surprize,
 The *melancholly* and the *joyful* themes
 Which fill’d my mind, by turns, were only *Dreams*.

Philadelphia, October 3.

We hear that the *Stamp Paper* for this province is arrived in Capt. Holland, who lies at New-Castle under the protection of one of his Majesty’s floops of war. It is impossible to conceive the consternation this melancholy news has diffused thro’ this city---Rage, resentment and grief appeared painted in every countenance, and the mournful language of one and all our inhabitants seems to be farewell, farewell liberty!—*America, America* doomed by a premature sentence to slavery!----was it thy loyalty---thy filial obedience

dience---thy exhausted treasures---and the rivers of blood shed by thy sons in extending the glory of the British arms, provoked thy mother-country thus unjustly to involve thee in distress, by tearing from thee the darling privileges of thy children?---- or was it the perfidy?---- but I cannot proceed----tears of vexation and sorrow stop my pen---- O my country, my country!----

At a meeting of the Lawyers at the Supreme Court at Perth-Amboy, on the 20th ult. like true born sons of liberty, and lovers of their country, the Chief Justice having proposed the following *Queries*, agreed and came into the under-mentioned *Resolves*, which will always redound to their honor.

First. Whether if the Stamps should arrive, and be placed at the city of Burlington, by or after the first of November, they would as practitioners, agree to purchase them, or any of them, for the necessary proceedings in law?

Resolved, by the whole body, N. C. they would NOT, but rather suffer their private interest to give way to the public good, protesting at the same time against all indecent and riotous behaviour, which they will discountenance by every means in their power to preserve order, and by an absolute refusal to make use of the Stamps, and other quiet methods endeavour to obtain a repeal of the law.

Second. Whether it was their opinion, that should the act take place the duties could possibly be paid in gold and silver?

Answered by the whole body, It could not be paid in gold and silver even for one year.

Third. Their opinion was desired, whether, as the act required the Governor and Chief Justice to superintend the distributor, he should be obliged to take charge of the distribution of the Stamps by order and appointment of the governor, if he should think proper to fix upon him for that office.

Answered and advised not take it upon him, the Governor not being empowered by the act to appoint, or if he was, it was left to the Chief Justice's option, & that it would be incompatible with his office as Justice.

N E W - P O R K, Octo. 7.

The Commissioners from several Colonies for holding the general Congress here, on the common and most important Interest of America, at this alarming Juncture, are come to Town, and the rest daily expected: We hear they have already begun their Conferences, which it is supposed will be continued a sufficient Time to answer the Purposes of their Appointment.

The Stamp Papers for this Government are not yet arrived here.

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of
Monday, October 21, 1765.

A Word of Advice.

MY COUNTRYMEN,

YOU need not doubt of the sincerity of my concern for you, if you reflect that my interest is closely connected with yours. My LOVE of this province is what puts me on giving you my thoughts on your present situation.

It is a common opinion here that *British Subjects are British Subjects*, by which you mean that those of them that live in America are entitled to the

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same essential privileges as they that live in Britain. Vain imagination! Be not deceived. Instead of looking upon yourselves merely as subjects of the K. of Great Britain, you should remember that you are *subjects of the subjects* of that monarch. A former Gov. of New England, Sir Edmond Andros, told the people, that *they must not think their Privileges would follow them to the ends of the earth*. And the maxim is as true at this day as it was then. When your forefathers were driven out of their native land, their privileges were not sent along with them to *America*, but tarried behind at *Westminster*. For what can be plainer, than that those that stay at home have a right to command the property of those that go abroad? or, which comes to the same, that those who go abroad have no property at all? And as *this right remains indisputable among them*, so they want not means to vindicate it. They can pour in upon you torrents of British eloquence, and send you orators of various kinds to display it,—governors, guada costas, custom house officers, judges of admiralty, stamp men, &c. &c. &c. and what *cogent* arguments such gentlemen can make use of, you know pretty well already. Or if these should fail, perhaps, as *French* fashions are all the taste at present, the genteel mode of DRAGOONING, which has been so successfully employed in France for the conversion of protestants, (*Horresco referens*) may be introduced here, to convince you that *no man ought to buy or sell, save he that hath the MARK of the Beast*.

The colonists object, that they are *not represented* in P——t. In answer to this they have been told, that tho' they are *not actually*, yet they are *virtually* represented there. If they are but represented, what signifies it whether it be *actually*, or *not actually*? It has also been objected, that not only the C——ns of G. B. have laid a tax on the colonies, but have empowered the lords commissioners of the treasury to tax them farther at pleasure. But you must understand the matter right. These commissioners are not empowered to raise the price of *the stamp itself*, tho' they are indeed empowered to raise the price of the *stamp'd paper*, &c. from time to time. But if they were, it is the opinion of many sensible people that the privileges of the colonies might be as safe in the hands of their l——ps, or the worshipful company of Spitalfield weavers, or —, as with a m——l H. of C.

Thus I have endeavoured, my countrymen, to represent matters to you in a true light, and upon the whole, what better advice can I give you than not to flounce at the abject situation? Rather hug the chains which you cannot throw off, and then you may hope for peaceable times. It was the wise observation of an EXCELLENT speech-maker to a great assembly, that *these regulations, from their novelty only, appear disagreeable*. Very true. When your neck has been accustomed to the yoke, it will not feel so galling; when your backs are grown callous by reiterated flagellation, the whip will make but little impression. When the pestilent news papers are most of them suppressed, and the few that remain are either under a *proper influence* or made so dear that few will take them, troublesome men will no longer be able to infuse jealousies into the minds of the people, and then it may be expected the storm will settle into a dead calm. Your ancient privileges will then be forgot: and you will be in the same profound tranquility of mind, as is enjoyed by the present inhabitants of *Greece* and *Italy*, under a Turkish and Popish government. So different from the turbulent spirit of liberty which formerly kept those countries in a flame, and having nothing you can call your own, and therefore nothing worth being concern'd about, your whole attention may be directed to increase the opulence of your indulgent mother;
a mother

a mother who never, never treated you with the least severity—but when she thought she could get something by it: and then what business have you to complain? You have been told by great authority, that *a respectful submission is your interest as well as your duty*. And so it is with your brother Americans, the black inhabitants of the West India Islands. Their DUTY it certainly is to *submit* to all the impositions of their masters; for we know they were created for no other end but, with the sweat of their brow, to support them in luxury and grandeur, and it is as plainly their INTEREST, to bear fifty lashes without muttering, for fear of having a hundred.

I am your sincere Well wisher

A M E R I C A N U S.

Marthurs Vineyard, Meshures Eates & Kill.

I Suppose poor Intians ma rite in yure papur as wel as crate fokes, an tel publik wen tha are like to luse thare corn and syter to pay stamps—You ma rememper I rite in yure papur fore nou, (and rite tru tu) I thot I wou't nefer rite agin, but nou I cant help it—I pless God I can rite—and reat tu a littel—I no more of liperty nou then efer I did, sence the Tamp Ax has bin on the carpet—Ive sean all yure papurs pout it a crate wile, and I like um ferre vel, eccep sum Ippissels that our sqire fas one Peter Haykins rit, wich I dont like one crane: the sqire sais this Peter is a verre crate man, (I suppose like crate wale) lives near Postun, and moss effery poddy is frait to tel him of his falts, tho' effery poddy sees he hes more then enny Peter Haykins ever 'ad pefore him—Our sqire is verre cood sensabil man, vil fite for liperty wen pepel cums to take it way; he an I tu fit tuice unter Chenral W—at Secnecto an the Lake; an if the Chenral wont fite for us an liperty nou he is in politikal way, Ile tel him necks time I see him—I hope he wont let crate fokes lead him Chenral (as tha du sum uthers) an liperty away, an so fite ginst Postun fokes hoo is fiteing for us al:—Afs tu Peter Haykins, I wont be fraid, but vil tel him wat pepel hear fas of him.

Preface:

Wen Peter did furst cum to Postun effery pody did like him a littel, tho tha did here bout flag truce ware he cum from, an he cot crate deel of munny, and fine farms, wich he nefer ad pefore: Put pepel found the more he ad, the more hunkery he was for more; an wen he ad cot al the munny and lans he cood, then he cockeld em out of thare shugar an lassies tu; and now he hes cot al the marro he is for fliging way the bone.

Furst then, Tha sa Peter is tu hi in the hinstup crate deel, (that I bleve's tru) an is very ridged in his politikal and not cathlik in is relidgus prinsepels, dont love honest fokes cood deel, and tha dont lik him—Vel den,

Secundle, He thinks he hes got al sence, an uther fokes no sence but nonsense, (tho I dont bleve ary one) Agane, he trives matturs tu fur crate deel in Chenral Coart, and dont love Postun fokes there one crain, caus tha tauk strait: I bleve he wud du ferry vel to live neer Ole Gerustum, for this climate he fines tu cold for his constushun; tho I think if he stais hear much longur he vil find it mutch hottur, because tha are clearin the woods moor an moor every day (thats cood stroke Jacob)

Thurdle, Peter is verry pad Alminick maker, an sees the Starrs parshully, (an I bleve its caus he studded Stronome in Star Champer) He tels tredful times vil be fust of Nofember: But Toctur Ames sais the fust of Nofember (in is Alminick) is “ All Saints, an less Silk & Lace, more Wool and Flax;”

an

an the last of Nofember, he fas “ something threatens our Liberty! St. ANDR.” Vel then, nou if all faints this month, then no devels—and I hope no popes—vel fo much for thurdle.

Fortble, He feels big like crate defart mountain, fas he tands ftrong, (tho’ I dont bleve him) this makes crate little fokes frait of him tu much: Vel then, Peter, take Intians atvice, if you wont take uther fokes, du only yure one bifnes—and let uther fokes du thares, then Ile fay yure cood Peter Haykins.—Now Jacob fas, Let Intians an wite pepel be al of a mine, from the crate rifor Miffefippe to the plafe ware tha catch crate fifh—al love an peas amung um like Pruthers—no pope—no divel—no mob—no TAMPs.—The crate coart mus be al won mine an hart, for liberty; an take crate care of the famus fifharman Peter Haykins, boo fumtimes hook crate menmy little fifh, wen tha be hunkry for bate. I no crate Tempel hoo is a ferry cood man, and loves al cood pepel, vil pe petter crate deel then Peter is.—I hope thare vil be no fuch fools in S—m or M—d, as to take Tamps, if tha du, Ile——rite agin—If al be ftidde like crate Oke Tree—tand trong agins all tamps our crate and good king Chorge vil love us, and peal the Tamp ax, and remove al the fcare crofe, fcreach ouls, an vultures, to thofe regans that will fute their confufhon petter then this. *Aman.*

J A C O B.

Continuation of the Piece in our Paper of the 30th of September laft.

WE have been afraid to think.—We have felt a reluctance to examining into the grounds of our privileges, and the extent in which we have an indisputable right to demand them againft, all the power and authority on earth.—And many who have not fcrupled to examine for themfelves, have yet for certain prudent reasons been cautious, and diffident of declaring the refult of their enquiries.

The caufe of this timidity is perhaps hereditary and to be traced back in hiftory, as far as the cruel treatment the firft fettlers of this country received, before their embarkation for America, from the government at Home.—Every body knows how dangerous it was to fpeak or write in favour of any thing in thofe days, but the triumphant fyftem of religion and politicks.—And our fathers, were particularly, the objects of the perfecutions and profcRIPTIONS of the times.—It is not unlikely therefore, that although they were inflexibly fteady in refufing their pofitive affent to any thing againft their principles, they might have contracted habits of referve, and a cautious diffidence of afferting their opinions publickly.—Thefe habits they probably brought with them to America, and have tranfmitted down to us.—Or, we may poffibly account for this appearance, by the great affection and veneration, Americans have always entertained for the country from whence they fprang—or by the quiet temper for which they have been remarkable, no country having been lefs difpofed to difcontent than this—or by a fenfe they have, that it is their duty to acquiefce, under the adminiftration of government, even when in many fmall matters gravaminous to them, and until the essentials of the great compact are deftroy’d or invaded.—Thefe peculiar caufes might operate upon them; but without thefe we all know, that human nature itfelf, from indolence, modefty, humanity or fear, has always too much reluctance to a manly affertion of its rights. Hence perhaps it has happened that nine tenths of the fpecies, are groaning and gasping in mifery & fervitude.

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But whatever the cause has been, the fact is certain, we have been excessively cautious of giving offence by complaining of grievances.—And it is as certain, that American governors, and their friends and all the crown officers have avail'd themselves of this disposition in the people.—They have prevailed on us to consent to many things, which were grossly injurious to us, and to surrender many others with voluntary tameness, to which we had the clearest right. Have we not been treated formerly, with abominable insolence, by officers of the navy?—I mean no insinuation against any gentleman now on this station, having heard no complaint of any one of them to his dishonor.—Have not some generals, from England, treated us like servants, nay more like slaves than like Britons?—Have we not been under the most ignominious contribution, the most abject submission, the most supercilious insults of some custom house officers? Have we not been trifled with, brow-beaten, and trampled on, by former governors, in a manner which no king of England since James the second has dared to indulge towards his subjects? Have we not raised up, one family, in them placed an unlimited confidence, and been soothed and flattered and intimidated by their influence, into a great part of this infamous tameness and submission?—
 “ These are serious and alarming questions, and deserve a dispassionate consideration.”—

This disposition has been the great wheel and the mainspring in the machine of court politicks—We have been told that “ the word “ Rights” is an offensive expression.” That “ the King his ministry and parliament will not endure to hear Americans talk of their Rights.” That “ Britain is the mother and we the children, that a filial duty and submission is due from us to her,” and that “ we ought to doubt our own judgment, and presume that she is right, even when she seems to us to shake the foundations of government.” That “ Britain is immensely rich and great and powerful, has fleets and armies at her command, which have been the dread and terror of the universe, and that she will force her own judgment into execution, right or wrong.” But let me intreat you Sir to pause and consider—Do you consider your self as a missionary of loyalty or of rebellion? Are you not representing your King his ministry and parliament as tyrants, imperious, unrelenting tyrants by such reasoning as this?—Is not this representing your most gracious sovereign, as endeavouring to destroy the foundations of his own throne?—Are you not putting language into the royal mouth, which if fairly pursued will shew him to have no right to the crown on his own sacred head? Are you not representing every member of parliament as renouncing the transactions at Runningmede, and as repealing in effect the bill of rights, when the Lords and Commons asserted and vindicated the rights of the people & their own rights, and insisted on the King's assent to that assertion and vindication? Do you not represent them as forgetting that the prince of Orange, was created King William by the People, on purpose that their rights might be eternal and inviolable?—Is there not something extremely fallacious, in the common-place images of mother country and children colonies? Are we the children of Great Britain, any more than the cities of London, Exeter and Bath? Are we not brethren and fellow subjects, with those in Britain, only under a somewhat different method of legislation, and a totally different method of taxation? But admitting we are children; have not children a right to complain when their parents are attempting to break their limbs, to administer poison, or to sell them to enemies for slaves? Let me intreat you to consider, will the
 mother,
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mother, be pleased, when you represent her as deaf to the cries of her children? When you compare her to the infamous miscreant, who lately stood on the gallows for starving her child? When you resemble her to Lady Macbeth in Shakespear, (I cannot think of it without horror)

Who "had given suck, and knew"

"How tender 'twas to love the Babe that milk'd her."

But yet, who could

"Even while 'twas smiling in her Face,

"Have pluck'd her Nipple from the boneless Gums,

"And dash'd the Brains out."

Let us banish forever from our minds, my countrymen, all such unworthy ideas of the King, his ministry and parliament. Let us not suppose, that all are become luxurious effeminate and unreasonable, on the other side the water, as many designing persons would insinuate. Let us presume, what is in fact true, that the spirit of liberty, is as ardent as ever among the Body of the nation, though a few individuals may be corrupted.—Let us take it for granted, that the same great spirit, which once gave Cæsar so warm a reception; which denounced hostilities against John 'till Magna Charta was signed; which severed the head of Charles the first from his body, and drove James the second from his kingdom; the same great spirit (may heaven preserve it till the earth shall be no more) which first seated the great grand father of his present most gracious Majesty, on the throne of Britain, is still alive and active and warm in England; and that the same spirit in America, instead of provoking the inhabitants of that country, will endear us to them for ever and secure their good will.

This spirit however without knowledge, would be little better than a brutal rage—Let us tenderly and kindly cherish therefore the means of knowledge. Let us dare to read, think, speak and write.—Let every order and degree among the people rouse their attention and animate their resolution.—Let them all become attentive to the grounds and principles of government, ecclesiastical and civil.—Let us study the law of nature; search into the spirit of the British constitution; read the histories of ancient ages; contemplate the great examples of Greece and Rome; set before us, the conduct of our own British ancestors, who have defended for us, the inherent rights of mankind, against foreign and domestic tyrants and usurpers, against arbitrary kings and cruel priests, in short against the gates of earth and hell.—Let us read and recollect and impress upon our souls the views and ends, of our own more immediate forefathers, in exchanging their native country for a dreary, inhospitable wilderness. Let us examine into the nature of that power and the cruelty of that oppression which drove them from their homes. Recollect their amazing fortitude, their bitter sufferings! the hunger, the nakedness the cold, which they patiently endured: The severe labours of clearing their grounds, building their houses, raising their provisions amidst dangers from wild beasts and savage men, before they had time or money or materials for commerce! Recollect the civil and religious principles and hopes and expectations, which constantly supported and carried them through all hardships, with patience and resignation! Let us recollect it was liberty! The hope of liberty for themselves and us and ours, which conquered all discouragements, dangers and trials!—In such researches as these let us all in our several departments chearfully engage! But especially the proper patrons and supporters of law, learning & religion.

Let

Let the pulpit resound with the doctrines and sentiments of religious liberty.—Let us hear the danger of thralldom to our consciences, from ignorance, extream poverty and dependance, in short from civil and political slavery.—Let us see delineated before us the true map of man. Let us hear the dignity of his nature, and the noble rank he holds among the works of God! that consenting to slavery is a sacriligious breach of trust, as offensive in the sight of God, as it is derogatory from our own honor or interest or happiness; and that God almighty has promulgated from heaven, liberty, peace, and good-will to man!—

Let the Bar proclaim, “ the laws, the rights, the generous plan of power”, delivered down from remote antiquity; inform the world of the mighty struggles, and numberless sacrifices, made by our ancestors, in defence of freedom.—Let it be known, that British liberties are not the grants of princes or parliaments, but original rights, conditions of original contracts, coequal with prerogative & co-eval with government—That many of our rights are inherent and essential, agreed on as maxims and establish'd as preliminaries, even before a parliament existed.—Let them search for the foundations of British laws and government in the frame of human nature, in the constitution of the intellectual and moral world.—There let us see, that truth, liberty, justice and benevolence, are its everlasting basis; and if these could be removed, the superstructure is overthrown of course.—

Let the colleges join their harmony, in the same delightful concert.—Let every declamation turn upon the beauty of liberty and virtue, and the deformity, turpitude and malignity of slavery and vice.—Let the public disputations become researches into the grounds and nature and ends of government, and the means of preserving the good and demolishing the evil.—Let the dialogues and all the exercises, become the instruments of impressing on the tender mind, and of spreading and distributing, far and wide, the ideas of right and the sensations of freedom.

In a word, let every sluice of knowledge be open'd and set a flowing. The encroachments upon liberty, in the reigns of the first James and the first Charles, by turning the general attention of learned men to government, are said to have produced the greatest number of consummate statesmen, which has ever been seen in any age, or nation. Your Clarendons, Southamptons, Seldens, Hampdens, Faulklands, Sidneys, Locks, Harringtons, are all said to have owed their eminence in political knowledge, to the tyrannies of those reigns. The prospect, now before us, in America, ought in the same manner to engage the attention of every man of learning to matters of power and of right, that we may neither be led nor driven blindfolded to irretrievable destruction.—Nothing less than this seems to have been meditated for us, by somebody or other in Great-Britain. There seems to be a direct and formal design on foot, to enslave all America.—This however must be done by degrees.—The first step that is intended seems to be an entire subversion of the whole system of our Fathers, by an introduction of the cannon and feudal law, into America.—The cannon and feudal systems tho' greatly mutilated in England, are not yet destroy'd. Like the temples and palaces, in which the great contrivers of them, once worship'd and inhabited, they exist in ruins; and much of the domineering spirit of them still remains.—The designs and labours of a certain society, to introduce the former of them into America, have been well exposed to the public by a writer of great abilities, and the further attempts to the same purpose that may be made by that society, or by the ministry or parliament, I leave to the conjectures of the thoughtful.—But
it

it seems very manifest from the S—p A—t itself, that a design is form'd to strip us in a great measure of the means of knowledge, by loading the Press, the Colleges, and even an Almanack and a News-Paper, with restraints and duties; and to introduce the inequalities and dependances of the feudal system, by taking from the poorer sort of people all their little subsistence, and conferring it on a set of stamp officers, distributors and their deputies.—But I must proceed no further at present.—The sequel, whenever I shall find health and leisure to pursue it, will be a “disquisition of the policy of the stamp act.”—In the mean time however let me add, These are not the vapours of a melancholly mind, nor the effusions of envy, disappointed ambition, nor of a spirit of opposition to government: but the emanations of an heart that burns, for its country's welfare. No one of any feeling, born and educated in this once happy country, can consider the numerous distresses, the gross indignities the barbarous ignorance, the haughty usurpations, that we have reason to fear are meditating for ourselves, our children, our neighbours, in short for all our countrymen and all their posterity, without the utmost agonies of heart, and many tears.—

B O S T O N, October 21.

At a legal Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of CAMBRIDGE, this 14th of October, 1765. the Hon. WILLIAM BRATTLE, Esq; chosen Moderator,

VOTED, **T**HAT (with all Humility) it is the Opinion of the Town, that the Inhabitants of this Province have a legal Claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional Rights of Englishmen, notwithstanding their great Distance from *Great Britain*—That the Stamp-Act is an Infraction upon these Rights—one Instance in our Opinion, among many, is as follows:—

The Distributor of the Stamps, or Mr. INFORMER, have a Sovereignty over every Thing but the Lives of the People, since it is in their Power to summon every one they please to *Quebec, Montreal or Newfoundland*, to answer for the pretended or real Breaches of this Act. When the distressed Subject arrives there, by whom is he to be tried?—Not by his Peers in the Vicinage, (the Birthright of every Englishman) no! by the Judge of Admiralty without a Jury; and it is possible, without Law!—Under these Circumstances, the Stamp-Distributor or INFORMER may unrighteously get from His Majesty's good *American* Subjects, more than his Majesty, upon a Ballance, may get by the Stamps: for who would not rather pay the Fine, guilty or not, than be thus harrassed, thus tried?—Why are not his Majesty's good Subjects of *Great Britain* thus treated? why must we in *America*, who have in every Instance discovered as much Loyalty to His Majesty, and Obedience to His Laws, as any of His *British* Subjects; and whose Exertions, in some of the Provinces and Colonies, during the last War, have been greater, be thus discriminated?—at this time especially, whilst we are struggling under an almost insupportable Load of Debt, the Consequence of these Exertions. We believe it may be truly said, that no one in *Great Britain* pays so great a Tax as some do in this Province in Proportion to their Estates.

Let this Act but take Place, Liberty will be no more—Trade will languish and die—our Cash will be sent into his Majesty's Exchequer—and Poverty come upon us like an armed Man.

The Town therefore hereby advise and direct their Representatives, by no Means whatsoever to do any one Thing that may aid said Act in its Operation; but that in Conjunction with the Friends of Liberty, they use their utmost Endeavours that the same might be repealed—That this Vote be recorded in the Town Book, that the Children yet unborn may see the Desire their Ancestors had for their Freedom and Happiness; and that an attested Copy be given said Representatives for their Conduct.

To JAMES HUMPHREY, Esq;

S I R,

WE the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of *Weymouth* are assembled together at a time, when the voice of distress is heard, not only from every part of this province, but from the continent in general. The burdens we feel, and the greater we fear, force out our groans, and lead us to lay before you the distresses of our hearts, with whom we have entrusted our most important interests.—And we have the highest assurance from your past integrity, that no exertion of your abilities will be wanting to effect a removal of these evils.

When we consider the difficulties, encumbrances on trade, and decay of it brought upon us by some late Acts of Parliament, together with the load of debt under which the province labours, we behold poverty rushing in upon us like an armed man; but when we take under consideration the Stamp-Act with all its consequences, we can see nothing but misery and ruin to the province resulting from the execution of it, and a fatal wound to the trade and interest of our mother-country.—The King our father, whom we have always lov'd and honour'd, and the Parliament of Great Britain, which we have always esteem'd and revered, will forgive us if we do not consent to our ruin; we will presume upon their clemency that they will not insist upon our destruction, and therefore do recommend to you decently and steadily to oppose any measures in General Court, that shall interest the province in any concern with the Stamp Act, or stamped Papers, either directly or indirectly, either by the Payment of any charges that may have arisen on their account, or by giving any orders for, or consent to the distribution of said Papers, inasmuch as the House of Representatives "has no warrant, order, or authority so to do," and we presume upon it that the House "will not be so imprudent, as to undertake a business to which they have no appointment."—They are deposited (as we are informed) "in the Castle, there to be defended with all the force of that fortress."—We imagine they need no further protection, and trust no one will offer so high an insult to the King as to meddle with them in any shape.

We take it for granted—that no man on earth is perfect—that no body of men can lay claim to infallibility—that so wise and august a body as the Parliament of Great Britain is, have been mistaken—that what has been, may be again—that men have natural rights—that they have also rights as members of society—that to assert, explain and vindicate these, is but acting up to the character of men and of rational beings—We do therefore instruct you upon all occasions to assert and vindicate the rights and privileges of free born British subjects, and the rights and privileges derived to us by charter from a King of Great Britain, acknowledged and consented to "really or virtually" by the Parliament thereof; and to use your best endeavours in the General Assembly to have these clearly stated and left upon the records of this

this province, that posterity may know that we never did or could voluntarily submit to slavery and to ruin.

We cannot but complain of the hardships to which we are expos'd by the enlargement of the power of the Court of Admiralty; an enlargement which takes from us one of the most essential rights of Englishmen, viz. that of being tried by Juries.

Those several acts before-mentioned are so many tax-acts, by which money must be drawn from us (and as we suppose) without our consent, having no idea or the least remembrance of our having been represented in parliament; and we really look upon these taxations and the extraordinary power of the admiralty judges, as so many "NOVELTIES" that time itself will never reconcile us to; that they are subversive of the happiness and welfare of the province, destructive to the interests of our mother-country; that they involve in them not only the destruction of our particular rights and privileges, but also strike at the very foundation of the English constitution; in short if they are not repealed, we fear that such prejudices will arise in the minds of people, and their affections to the government at home be so weakened, that it will be a long, a very long time, before the former can be removed, and the latter renewed.

If the Parliament of Great-Britain, which cannot be intimately acquainted with our abilities and necessities, shall from time to time tax us, and the Province tax us at the same time, from these two taxations great inequalities and injustice must arise, and consequently the end of government be destroyed, so that even allowing the Parliament's right to tax us (which we are not at present convinced of) yet we imagine, with submission to that august body, it would not be wisdom in them to exercise it.

We have ever supposed our Charter the greatest security that could be had in human affairs.—This was the sentiment of our forefathers—they have told us that they should never have left the land of their nativity, and fled to these ends of the earth, triumph'd over dangers, encountered difficulties innumerable, and suffer'd hardships unparallel'd, but for the sake of securely enjoying civil and religious liberty, and that the same might be transmitted safe to their posterity. They it is well known settled this country at the expence of their own blood and treasure. The country has risen, grown, and been defended without any expence to the government at home, till within a few years past, and besides defending ourselves, we have several times saved some of his Majesty's provinces from destruction, and once at least have given peace to Europe. The profits of our labour has from time to time center'd in Great Britain, by which her riches, her revenues, and her inhabitants have encreased mightily.

We are (notwithstanding the assistances granted us in the last war) far from thinking that there is any just reason for laying such heavy burdens upon us; and if it is necessary in this time of peace to raise a sum of money for the defence of our frontiers (it being said for our comfort that the money raised by the Stamp Act is partly to be applied to that end) we had much rather be at our own proportionable expence of for ever defending our frontiers, than comply with that Act.---And in any constitutional way we shall ever be ready to contribute our utmost to the assistance of our mother-country.

We further instruct you to use your utmost endeavour to promote public frugality, to prevent any unconstitutional grants, and any unaccustomed draughts

draughts on the treasury, that the public money be applied only to the purposes to which it is from time to time appropriated.

Whilst with pleasure we behold a general sense of liberty, and those "essential constitutional rights" freedom of speech and of the press now prevailing; we do at the same time entertain a just abhorrence to any violences committed upon the substance of any person or persons whatever.

As to any other affairs, we leave their management to your noted prudence and judgment, in which we place the highest confidence.

EXTRACTS from the Supplement to the *Boston-Gazette*, &c.
of Monday, October 21, 1765.

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

AT this critical Conjunction, every one will be meddling, and however futile the Thoughts of some may be, it is possible, amid the Chaos, Light may spring out of Darkness: therefore, if without Inconvenience, you can publish the following, you'll oblige

Your constant Customer and humble Servant,

A. B.

ON reading a late Sp—b, I perceiv'd buddled in one Group, more Ills, than ever issued forth, on the opening Pandora's Box. All to be the fatal Consequences of an Opposition to the Execution, of the S— A—. One Thing alarm'd me. It was an Intimation, that the Province would be in such a State of Out-lawry, that every ones Property, would be exposed, to Fraud and Rapine, and no one could have an Opportunity of demanding Satisfaction in Law for any Injury done him. As I am one of the smaller Size, and liable to be beat by every bigger bodied Man than myself, unless protected by the Law, I began to be uneasy for my small Bones. I again look'd thro' the Act, for my own Satisfaction, I soon found, vid. p. 5. express Exception, to all Papers relating to criminal Matters. And now, ye Bugbears, vanish all; for with the Hydra headed M—r ye can't compare! I am fully perswaded, that if certain Papers should lay interr'd where they are, 'till the Resurrection of the Dead, I should be as little exposed to Insults and Abuse as heretofore, and that the Law in all such Matters would be as open to me as ever. I dare appeal to the ablest Lawyer in the Land, whether if on the 5th of November, A with a Club should break B's Head, B could not immediately lay an Action for Assault and Battery, and proceed, in every Thing relating thereto, as formerly? So is it, with Regard to every Crime, of whatever Nature. Should I hear in the Street, one of the lowest Sort, propagating this Tenet, that all Law was at an End, and that he might now, rob, and plunder, and enrich himself, with the Spoils of others, with Impunity, I should immediately suspect him as Ringleader of a Mob, and use my utmost Endeavours that he should be secur'd as such. But that ever such a Tenet, to serve a Turn, should drop from above, God forbid. As to some Causes, bro't before the Courts, their not acting, may be attended, with one good Circumstance at least. It may prevent for the present many litigious Actions, which might have taken Place; but now perhaps by the friendly Aid of Neighbours may be happily compromised before the Courts will please to act. With respect to Actions for Debt, their ceasing for a While, may afford an Opportunity of discovering who are honest Men and willing to pay their Debts, and who are Knaves and would

never pay, if there was no Law to compel them. And now comes Trade, with its numerous Dependants; here I shall only say, that this Province knows by Experience what it is to undergo all the Evils of an Embargo for three Months for the PUBLIC GOOD, and surely the PUBLIC GOOD, never, never called so loud, with such a thundering, all-piercing Voice, as at present, to undergo the like again. In that Time perhaps we may hear that our humble Application to the Throne, has not been in vain. Be that as it may, we shall have this Satisfaction, that we have not lost our Liberty thro' our own Supineness and Inactivity. Inactivity, did I say! it is impossible to be inactive; for the Question is not, whether Louisbourg shall be taken by New England Men, or not? But whether Millions of free born British Subjects, spread through this vast Continent, shall, from, and after, the first of November, be, with their Posterity, Freemen or Slaves? No Inconveniencies, no Evils, can possibly attend an Opposition, equal, or by any Way comparable, to those adamantine Chains, big with sullen and overwhelming Woes, which will be fix'd on us, by a quiet Submission to what some Men, would have us comply with.

One Question to those, who can answer it, and I have done. Qu. If according to the English Constitution, every Act, made contrary to Magna Charta, is in, and of itself void; what Construction can possibly be put upon an Opposition to this Act, but, that it is, a brave, a noble, and generous Struggle for the inherent unalienable Rights of Englishmen.

A N N A P O L I S, October 3.

The RESOLVES of the House of DELEGATES of the Province of MARYLAND, September, 1765.

1st. **R**ESOLVED, unanimously, that the first Adventurers, and Settlers of this Province of Maryland, brought with them, and transmitted to their Posterity, and all other his Majesty's Subjects since inhabiting in this Province, all the Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, and Immunities, that at any Time have been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the People of Great Britain.

2d. Resolved unanimously, That it was granted by Magna Charta, and other good Laws and Statutes of England, and confirmed by the Petition and Bill of Rights, that the Subject should not be compelled to contribute to any Tax, Tallage, Aid, or other like Charge, not set by common Consent of Parliament.

3d. Resolved unanimously, That by a Royal Charter granted by his Majesty King Charles the first, in the eighth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 1632, to Cecilius, then Lord Baltimore, it was (for the Encouragement of People to transport themselves and Families into this Province) amongst other Things, covenanted and granted by his said Majesty, for himself, his Heirs and Successors, as followeth; " And we will also, and of our more special Grace, for us, our Heirs and Successors, We do strictly enjoin, constitute, ordain and command, That the said Province shall be of our Allegiance, and that all and singular the liege People of us, our Heirs and Successors, transported into the said Province, and the Children of them, and of such as shall descend from them, there already born, or hereafter to be born, be, and shall denizens and Lieges of us, our Heirs and Successors, of our Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and be in all Things held, treated reputed and esteemed, as the liege faithful

‘ People of us, our Heirs and Successors, born within our Kingdom of
 ‘ England, and likewise any Lands, Tenements, Revenues, Services, and
 ‘ other Hereditaments whatsoever, within our Kingdom of England, and
 ‘ other our dominions, may inherit or otherwise, purchase, receive, take,
 ‘ have, hold, buy and possess, and them may occupy and enjoy, give, sell,
 ‘ alien and bequeath, as likewise all Liberties, Franchises and Privileges, of
 ‘ this our Kingdom of England, freely, quietly and peaceably, have and
 ‘ possess, occupy and enjoy, as our liege People, born or to be born, within
 ‘ our said Kingdom of England, without the Let, Molestation, Vexation,
 ‘ Trouble or Grievance of us, our Heirs & Successors; any Statute, Act,
 ‘ Ordinance or Provision to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.----And
 ‘ further, our Pleasure is, and by these Presents for us, our Heirs and Suc-
 ‘ cessors, We do covenant and grant to and with the said now Lord Balti-
 ‘ more, his Heirs and Assigns, that we, our Heirs and Successors, shall at
 ‘ no Time hereafter, set or make, or cause to be set any Imposition, Custom,
 ‘ or other Taxation, Rate or Contribution whatsoever, in or upon the
 ‘ Dwellers and Inhabitants of the foresaid Province, for their Lands, Tene-
 ‘ ments, Goods or Chattles within the said Province, or in or upon any
 ‘ Goods or Merchandizes within the said Province, or to be laden and
 ‘ unladen within any the Ports and Harbours of the said Province: And
 ‘ our Pleasure is, and for us, our Heirs and Successors, We charge and
 ‘ command, that this our Declaration shall be henceforward, from Time to
 ‘ Time, received and allowed, in all our Courts, and before all the Judges
 ‘ of us, our Heirs and Successors, for a sufficient and lawful Discharge,
 ‘ Payment and Acquittance: Commanding all and singular our Officers and
 ‘ Ministers of us, our Heirs and Successors, and enjoining them, upon Pain
 ‘ of our high Displeasure, that they do not presume at any Time to at-
 ‘ tempt any Thing to the contrary of the Premises, or that they do in any
 ‘ Sort withstand the same; but that they be, at all Times, aiding and assist-
 ‘ ing, as is fitting, unto the said now Lord Baltimores and his Heirs, and
 ‘ to the Inhabitants of Maryland aforesaid, their Servants, Ministers, Factor,
 ‘ and Assigns, in the full Use and Fruition of the Benefit of this our Char-
 ‘ ter.”

4th. Resolved, That it is the unanimous Opinion of this House, that the said Charter is declaratory of the constitutional Rights and Privileges of the Freemen of this Province.

5th. Resolved unanimously, That the Trial by Juries is the grand Bulwark of Liberty, the undoubted Birth-Right of every Englishman, and consequently of every British Subject in America, and that the erecting other Jurisdictions for the Trial of Matters of Fact, is unconstitutional, and renders the Subject insecure in his Liberty and Property.

6th. Resolved, That it is the unanimous Opinion of this House, that it cannot with any Truth or Propriety be said, That the Freemen of this Province of Maryland, are represented in the British Parliament.

7th. Resolved unanimously, That his Majesty's liege People of this ancient Province, have always enjoyed the Right of being governed by the Laws to which they themselves have consented, in the Article of Taxes and internal Polity, and that the same have never been forfeited, or any other way yielded up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and People of Great Britain.

8th. Resolved, That it is the unanimous Opinion of this House, that the Representatives of the Freemen of this Province, in their Legislative Ca-

capacity,
b

capacity, together with the other Part of the Legislature, have the sole Right to lay Taxes and Impositions on the Inhabitants of this Province, or their Property and Effects, and that the laying, imposing, levying, or collecting any Tax, on or from the Inhabitants of Maryland, under Colour of any other Authority, is *UNCONSTITUTIONAL*, and a direct Violation of the Rights of the Freemen of this Province.

PHILADELPHIA, *Octob. 10.*

On Saturday, the 5th Instant, the Ship Royal Charlotte, Capt. Holland, came up to this City, attended by His Majesty's Ship Sardine, James Hawker, Esq; Commander. Capt. Holland having brought from London the Stamped Papers for Maryland, New Jersey and this Province, had remained some Time at New Castle, on Delaware, under Protection of the Man of War; and on the first Appearance of these Ships round Gloucester Point, all the Vessels in the Harbour hoisted their Colours half Mast high, the Bells began to ring, being first muffled, and continued so until the Evening, and every Countenance added to the Appearance of sincere Mourning, for the approaching Loss of Liberty. At Four o'clock in the afternoon several Thousand citizens met at the State-house, to consider the proper Ways and Means for preventing that unconstitutional Act of Parliament (the Stamp Act) being carried into Execution: The first Measure was, to send seven of their Number to Mr. Hughes, Stamp Distributor for this Province, to request he would resign that Office. He assured them no act of his should tend to carry that Law into Execution here, until it was generally complied with in the other colonies, but refused to sign any Resignation at that Time for various Reasons, which he assigned. On the Gentlemen's Return to the State-House, and reporting this answer, the company were instantly transported with Resentment, and it is impossible to say what Lengths their Rage might have carried them, had not the Gentlemen who waited on Mr. Hughes represented him in the light he appeared to them, at the Point of Death; his Situation raised their compassion, and they happily communicated their Feelings to all the People assembled; and instead of the Multitude repairing instantly to his House for a positive Answer, they agreed to make their Requisition in Writing, and give Mr. Hughes until Monday Morning to make a Reply. In Consequence of this Determination, a short Paper was instantly drawn up, and sent to him; and on Monday Morning the Deputies received from him a Writing, which was brought to the Court-House, and there read aloud to a vast Concourse of People, as follows.

Philadelphia, Monday Morning, October 7, 1765.

WHEREAS, about six o'clock on Saturday evening last, a paper was sent to me, expressing, that "a great number of the citizens of Philadelphia, assembled at the State House, do demand of Mr. John Hughes, Distributor of Stamps for Pennsylvania, that he will give them assurance under his hand, that he will not execute that office, and expect that he will give them a fair, candid, and direct answer by Monday next, ten o'clock, when he will be waited on for that purpose."

Saturday, October 5, 1765.

I do

I do therefore return for answer to those gentlemen, and all their associates, that I have not hitherto taken any step tending to put the late Act of Parliament into execution in this province, and that I will not either by myself or my deputies, do any act or thing, that shall have the least tendency to put the said Act into execution in this province, until the said Act shall be put into execution generally in the neighbouring colonies; and this I am determined to abide by.—And whereas my commission includes the three Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Suffex upon Delaware, I do therefore hereby, voluntarily, inform the good people of those counties, that no act of mine shall, directly or indirectly involve them into any difficulties, with respect to the said Stamp Act, before the same shall take place generally in the neighbouring Colonies.

JOHN HUGHES.

This paper from Mr. Hughes at first gained the approbation of three huzza's, but we find many people much dissatisfied with it first, as they think he ought to have resigned his office without reservation; and from the spirit which discovers itself amongst all ranks of people, we have reason to think this declaration would not have quieted the inhabitants, had Mr. Hughes been in better health. Capt. Hawker's having taken the Stamp'd papers on board his Majesty's ship, prevents them from being exposed to the resentment of an injured and enraged people. Thus have we, in some degree, followed the example of our fellow-sufferers in the neighbouring colonies, and the cool thinking people among us congratulate themselves and their country on finding spirit enough exerted to put us on the same footing with the rest of the continent, and that this was done by *men*, who had moderation not to proceed to any unnecessary acts of violence. It may not be amiss to inform the public, that Mr. Hughes, did declare upon his honour, he would not receive or take any charge of the Stamp'd Paper, and as we have no reason to doubt his firm adherence to any resolution he makes, we think there is no danger of their being distributed in this province.

NEW-YORK, October 14.

On Monday last the Commissioners from the several Colonies, appointed for holding the general Congress, being all arrived, assembled and entered upon Business.—The most important that ever came under Consideration in America;—and made Choice of the Hon. Timothy Ruggles for their President, and Mr. John Cotton for their Secretary.

Whereas it has been currently and injuriously Reported, That I the Subscriber have determined to take the Stamp Papers, and use them in the Course of my Business; and that if they were not to be obtained otherways, that I would send to Halifax for them:

Which Report is a very great Mistake; for I have determined, and still do determine, that I will not take or use them, unless People in general do it, being under no Necessity for such a Conduct in the Course of my Affairs:—And I am fully convinced it is the Opinion of the People in Trade in this Town, to conduct themselves in the same Manner, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary.

ROBERT HOOPER.

Marblehead, 19th October 1765.

LONDON

L O N D O N Printed,
[BOSTON, Re-printed and Sold opposite the Probate-Office in Queen-
Street,]

(Price *Half-a-Pistareen.*)

O P P R E S S I O N.

A P O E M.

By an A M E R I C A N.

With NOTES, by a NORTH BRITON.

*To see such crimes, and in so good a reign,
What boops of iron can my spleen contain.*

*** As the above P O E M, is wrote with peculiar spirit, and shows at large the causes from whence our public calamities proceed; we hope at the present juncture it will require nothing further to recommend it to the notice of every free born son of *AMERICA*.

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Evening-Post* of Monday, October 21, 1705.

[Continuation of the Piece begun in our last.]

DO not these measures, effectually subvert our royal charters, and the most important privileges we hold by them? If it be said, there is no mention of them. 'Tis answered, neither did King John say any thing of the charters given by his great grand father Henry 1st; when he superceeded and vacated the liberties of the people granted by them; but the Barons knew it, and exerted themselves for the recovery of them, and would never rest 'till they were most solemnly confirm'd to them, in what is now called Magna Charta.

By royal charter we have an exclusive right of laying internal taxes upon ourselves, and are only to pay our royal sovereign the 5th part of the gold and silver ore, at any time found in the colony, in lieu of all duties and demands whatsoever, to the crown and kingdom. This clause must directly intend an exemption and acquittal from internal taxes, or nothing at all. For the duties upon navigation are expressly saved to the crown in another clause. And are not these duties charged in the Stamp-Act, a direct violation of this part of our charter? If not, pray what is? What can be?

The charter expressly gives us all the rights of English subjects; and particularly to make laws for ourselves, and erect courts of justice, by judges from amongst ourselves—to execute justice—also—a right to purchase and possess freeholds without any other condition than the aforesaid 5th; and also—a right to recover our dues, and to defend life, liberty, and property, without any other duty to the crown but the 'forementioned 5th. But the Stamp Act fixes all these rights upon another condition; and we can have the benefit of none of these essential rights, without giving the new duties required in this act—Are we not then disfranchis'd of all, and in effect made-out lawries, or without any legal remedies, without payment of this tax?—What are our solemn legislatures and executive courts? but the shadows of powers and privileges once had—now lost? As the one can't make one effective law—nor the

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other execute it—~~but~~ upon this new condition. When at the same time, I think it must be certain to every one who reads the charter, that it was never the design of our royal sovereign who granted it—nor of our fathers who received it, that there should ever be an internal tax laid upon us, but by our own assemblies—nor that we should hold and enjoy all these essential rights and privileges, upon any other pecuniary condition whatsoever, but the 'fore-mentioned 5th; but the contrary is manifest from the charter itself. And this leads to an easy answer to the argument from city, and other incorporating charters, in Great Britain—which is supposed an argument in point. ---'Tis true, they have a right to make by-laws for themselves, as well as we; but to infer the parliamentary right of taxing the one from the other, is very weak and inconclusive; because they differ widely in every thing material to the argument. They have a right to choose, and send members to parliament, and have a representation there in fact---we have none. Nor have they such an exclusive right to tax themselves, granted in their charters, or such a perquisite to the crown fixed in their charters; in consideration of which, they shall be exempted from such taxation and duties, as it provided in our's. In a word---nor have the British king and parliament considered and treated them as having such a right ever since their first constitution, as is the case of all the colonies, and American governments. In short, the situation and circumstances of the colony governments, are in every thing so different from theirs, that no right of taxation can possibly be infer'd from the one to the other. Is it not a plain case, (however shocking) that our royal charters, and our most important privileges granted in them, are in fact subverted and vacated by this act; without forfeiture or trial? --- And may we not ask, by what right? Is it not agreeable to the constitution of Great Britain, that our rightful and gracious King and the British parliament, should rule the British kingdom and dominions, according to the charters---antient privileges, and the establish'd laws and general usages of the nation; and not the contrary? The King, by royal authority, has no power of suspending the laws, or the execution of laws, as was rul'd in the 1st of King William and Queen Mary---and by the same parliament, it was determined, *Parliaments are to be held for redress of All Grievances*: and for amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws. But where do we find it equally clear, They may create grievances, superceed and annul charters, without forfeiture or trial, and vacate or suspend the execution of laws made pursuant to the rights of charters—and the instructions of governments; which laws are for the good of the subject, and unrepeal'd? Or where do we find mention made, in any of our law books, chronicles, or histories, of any power which has a right to take away all the rights of Americans unforfeited---to annul or suspend all their laws, and throw all the American governments into a state of absolute anarchy, unless they will submit to conditions, of such a nature, as that their submission will in fact be a resigning up all their essential rights and privileges? This is a power we do not find in the British constitution; but are yet to seek.

Let us enquire further, Whether these measures may not in time affect the liberties of the inhabitants of Great Britain also. May not the same power extend the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty to some or all the taxes in Great Britain, as well as to this tax, in America? And would their privileges be no ways affected by it? Do not these measures in fact, undermine the foundation of Magna Charta, and all the royal charters in Great Britain? Are they not all given by the same royal power as our's? And as to the

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power granting them, stand upon the same footing with our's : And if our's be touch'd, are not their's affected and endangered also ? If it be said, our charters were given in a reign when the prerogatives of the crown were carried to an undue height, and therefore are void ab initio. We answer, This argument will not help the case at all. For (1st) The prerogative power was not carried higher then, than in the reign of King John ; when Magna Charta was given : Therefore in this point of view, Magna Charta and our's stands upon just the same footing ; and must stand or fall together ; and is consequently undermined by the act. (2dly) The granting of charters, is the exercise but of ordinary regal power, exercised in the mildest reigns, in one form or another---and in truth the granting of these charters was for the good of the nation, and one of the best services to the crown and kingdom, King Charles ever did. This talk therefore is not argument, but meer amusement. Or should it be further objected, they were given without the consent of parliament, and so are of no force. We answer, Is not this the case also, of most of the incorporating charters in England, and must they not of course stand or fall with our's ? But further we have had the concurrent approbation of the parliament, to our enjoyment of our charters, and of all the privileges we hold by them in full, for more than a century past. And is not this a full and sufficient approbation and acknowledgement of them ? Is not the mind of parliament known by their usages ? And is not the usage of parliament, the law of parliament ? Were not our petitions for the avoidance of this act rejected, upon this plea, that it was contrary to the rules of the house of commons to admit petitions against a supply bill ; and upon this principle, are not our charters,---and also---all the rights of the other governments in America, fully confirmed to us by the usage and law of parliament, for a century past, and ever since their first institution ? If the concurrent usages of a number of parliaments in succession, and of different complexions, and for so long a term together, does not carry in it the full consent and approbation of parliament ; it is difficult to say what can do it, or how the subject can know and be secure of it. Further it is to be remembered, our charters were not granted of meer favor, but in consideration, and as a regard for eminent services done for the crown and kingdom, as is evident in the face of them. How then can they be annul'd or superceeded, without forfeiture and legal tryal, any more than the royal patent to Knights, Earls, and Peers, who for eminent services have been enobled and rewarded with their titles of honor---with lands, with peerage, &c. can have such patents, with the privileges conveyed in them, taken away without forfeiture and legal trials. In short, our charters are so well founded, that we think they can't be superceeded or annul'd, in a sovereign way, without danger to the free charters in Great Britain. And why may not this act, in subversion of the privileges of our charters, in future time, be improved, as a precedent against Magna Charta itself, and the other charters in England, to the ruin of their privileges, with equal or stronger force than the Post Office is used in this case. The greatest difficulty is over when an aspiring m---y have got an approved precedent applauded by Britons : Their mouths are stopp'd ; they can't complain of measures for themselves, which they have meeted out to Americans. Is it not therefore a measure of very interesting concern to the inhabitants of Britain, as well as America ? as their privileges are consequently very nearly affected, as well as that of Americans.

[To be continued.]

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AT a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Rowley, held *October 10, 1765*, Capt. *Daniel Spafford* was chosen Moderator. Voted, That the Hon. *John Hobson Esq;* Messrs. *Nathaniel Migbill, Samuel Northend, Jacob Jewett, Capt. George Jewett, Mr. Thomas Lancaster, Thomas Gage, Esq;* Mr. *Abraham Adams, Capt. Richard Thurston, Mr. Daniel Chute, Capt. John Pearson, Capt. John Northend, and Mr. Thomas Merrill*, be a committee to draw up instructions for the Representative of this town at the great and general court of this province, and report as soon as may be.—The committee appointed for the purpose aforesaid unanimously reported the following Draft, which being read, was unanimously accepted, viz.

To HUMPHRY HOBSON, *Esq;*

S I R,

YOU will not interpret the manifestation of the minds of your constituents, upon so alarming an occasion as that of complying or refusing a compliance with a Stamp-Act (so much agitated) as an effect of their distrust of your ability or fidelity, but as a prudent step taken, hereby to prevent all unwarrantable suspicions that might arise hereafter, and to leave upon record a lasting testimony to posterity, that we do not quietly, and for no consideration, give up our and their inestimable Rights as British subjects. Therefore, in reference to the Stamp-Act, we would say—That considering the present state of the province as extremely low and depressed, occasioned by the late expensive war, and the scant produce of some of the necessities of life for some summers past; for which reason much of our money has been exported to foreign parts, in exchange for necessary commodities; whereby we are so reduced, as scarcely to be able to support ourselves, and throw off the yearly load of publick tax: Considering the said act not only as unconstitutional (as we apprehend) and an invasion upon our charter rights and privileges, but so calculated as to carry off perhaps the greater part of our medium of trade, which as yet survives the above-mentioned calamities: Considering the said act, in its execution, as destructive of the dearest part of our liberty; by admitting it as lawful to prosecute and punish the transgressors of it in the court of admiralty, and so depriving us of the privilege of a jury: And considering it in its probable consequences, as an introduction to a train of other acts of a similar oppressive nature (each of which particulars pursued affords a gloomy prospect) all these considerations, though but just hinted at, appear so weighty, that, though we are sensible a non-compliance must be attended with many and grievous difficulties; yet, as a compliance threatens utter ruin, we cannot, we dare not, and we instruct and advise you not to give your consent for its taking place in this province: But to make that vigorous opposition thereto, as is requisite from the importance and moment of our confirmed charter rights, and least inconsistent with due deference paid to the British authority.

Further, we intimate our sentiments to you, that you forbear acting in an application of the publick monies towards a compensation of the loss which any private person or persons may have sustained, or to any other use than as has been usual.

You likewise have our consent and advice, to bear publick testimony against, and to go into all proper measures to prevent such disorders and outrages as have been or may be committed, contrary to the laws provided for privates quietly and peaceably enjoying each his own property.

Attest. HUMPHRY HOBSON, Town Clerk.

At

*At a legal Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of
CAMBRIDGE, this 14th of October, 1765. the Hon. WILLIAM BRATTLE,
Esq; chosen Moderator,*

VOTED, **T**HAT (with all Humility) it is the Opinion of the Town, that the Inhabitants of this Province have a legal Claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional Rights of Englishmen, notwithstanding their great Distance from *Great Britain*—That the Stamp-Act is an Infraction upon these Rights—one Instance in our Opinion, among many, is as follows :—

The Distributor of the Stamps, or Mr. INFORMER, have a Sovereignty over every Thing but the Lives of the People, since it is in their Power to summon every one they please to *Quebec, Montreal or Newfoundland*, to answer for the pretended or real Breaches of this Act. When the distressed Subject arrives there, by whom is he to be tried?—Not by his Peers in the Vicinage, (the Birthright of every Englishman) no! by the Judge of Admiralty without a Jury; and it is possible, without Law!—Under these Circumstances, the Stamp-Distributor or INFORMER may unrighteously get from His Majesty's good *American* Subjects, more than His Majesty, upon a Ballance, may get by the Stamps: For who would not rather pay the Fine, guilty or not, than be thus harrassed, thus tried?—Why are not his Majesty's good Subjects of *Great-Britain* thus treated? why must we in *America*, who have in every Instance discovered as much Loyalty to His Majesty, and Obedience to His Laws, as any of His *British* Subjects; and whose Exertions, in some of the Provinces and Colonies, during the last War, have been greater, be thus discriminated?—at this Time especially, whilst we are struggling under an almost insupportable Load of Debt, the Consequence of these Exertions. We believe is may be truly said, that no one in *Great Britain* pays so great a Tax as some do in this Province in Proportion to their Estates.

Let this Act but take Place, Liberty will be no more—Trade will languish and die—our Cash will be sent into his Majesty's Exchequer—and Poverty come upon us like an armed Man.

The Town therefore hereby advise and direct their Representatives, by no Means whatsoever to do any one Thing that may aid said Act in its Operation; but that in Conjunction with the Friends of Liberty, they use their utmost Endeavours that the same might be repealed—That this Vote be recorded in the Town Book, that the Children yet unborn may see the Desire their Ancestors had for their Freedom and Happiness; and that an attested Copy be given said Representatives for their Conduct.

To JAMES HUMPHREY, Esq;

S I R,

WE the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of *Weymouth* are assembled together at a time, when the voice of distress is heard, not only from every part of this province, but from the continent in general. The burdens we feel, and the greater we fear, force out our groans, and lead us to lay before you the distresses of our hearts, with whom we have entrusted our most important interests.—And we have the highest assurance from your past integrity, that no exertion of your abilities will be wanting to effect a removal of these evils.

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When we consider the difficulties, encumbrances on trade, and decay of it brought upon us by some late Acts of Parliament, together with the load of debt under which the province labours, we behold poverty rushing in upon us like an armed man; but when we take under consideration the Stamp-Act with all its consequences, we can see nothing but misery and ruin to the province resulting from the execution of it, and a fatal wound to the trade and interest of our mother-country.—The King our father, whom we have always lov'd and honour'd, and the Parliament of Great Britain, which we have always esteem'd and revered, will forgive us if we do not consent to our ruin; we will presume upon their clemency that they will not insist upon our destruction, and therefore do recommend to you decently and steadily to oppose any measures in General Court, that shall interest the province in any concern with the Stamp Act, or stamped Papers, either directly or indirectly, either by the Payment of any Charges that may have arisen on their account, or by giving any orders for, or consent to the distribution of said Papers, inasmuch as the House of Representatives “has no warrant, order, or authority so to do,” and we presume upon it that the House “will not be so imprudent, as to undertake a business to which they have no appointment.”—They are deposited (as we are informed) “in the Castle, there to be defended with all the force of that fortress”—We imagine they need no further protection, and trust no one will offer so high an insult to the King as to meddle with them in any shape.

We take it for granted—that no man on earth is perfect—that no body of men can lay claim to infallibility—that so wise and august a body as the Parliament of Great Britain is, have been mistaken—that what has been, may be again—that they have also rights as members of society—that to assert, explain and vindicate these, is but acting up to the character of men and of rational beings.—We do therefore instruct you upon all occasions to assert and vindicate the rights and privileges of free born British subjects, and the rights and privileges derived to us by charter from a King of Great Britain, acknowledged and consented to “really or virtually” by the Parliament thereof; and to use your best endeavours in the General Assembly to have these clearly stated and left upon the records of this province, that posterity may know that we never did or could voluntarily submit to slavery and to ruin.

We cannot but complain of the hardships to which we are expos'd by the enlargement of the power of the Court of Admiralty; an enlargement which takes from us one of the most essential rights of Englishmen, viz. that of being tried by juries.

Those several acts before-mentioned are so many tax acts, by which money must be drawn from us (and as we suppose) without our consent, having no idea or the least remembrance of our having been represented in parliament; and we really look upon these taxations and the extraordinary power of the admiralty judges, as so many “NOVELTIES” that time itself will never reconcile us to; that they are subversive of the happiness and welfare of the province, destructive to the interests of our mother-country; that they involve in them not only the destruction of our particular rights and privileges, but also strike at the very foundation of the English constitution; in short if they are not repealed, we fear that such prejudices will arise in the minds of people, and their affections to the government at home be so weakened, that it will be a long, a very long time, before the former can be removed, and the latter renewed.

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If the Parliament of Great-Britain, which cannot be intimately acquainted with our abilities and necessities, shall from time to time tax us, and the Province tax us at the same time, from these two taxations great inequalities and injustice must arise, and consequently the end of government be destroyed, so that even allowing the Parliament's right to tax us (which we are not at present convinced of) yet we imagine, with submission to that august body, it would not be wisdom in them to exercise it.

We have ever supposed our Charter the greatest security that could be had in human affairs.---This was the sentiment of our forefathers---they have told us that they should never have left the land of their nativity, and fled to these ends of the earth, triumph'd over dangers, encountered difficulties innumerable, and suffer'd hardships unparallel'd, but for the sake of securely enjoying civil and religious liberty, and that the same might be transmitted safe to their posterity. They it is well known settled this country at the expence of their own blood and treasure. The country has risen, grown, and been defended without any expence to the government at home, till within a few years past, and besides defending ourselves, we have several times saved some of his Majesty's provinces from destruction, and once at least have given peace to Europe. The profits of our labour has from time to time center'd in Great Britain, by which her riches, her revenues, and her inhabitants have encreased mightily.

We are (notwithstanding the assistances granted us in the last war) far from thinking that there is any just reason for laying such heavy burdens upon us; and if it is necessary in this time of peace to raise a sum of money for the defence of our frontiers (it being said for our comfort that the money raised by the Stamp Act is partly to be applied to that end) we had much rather be at our own proportionable expence of for ever defending our frontiers, than comply with that Act.—And in any constitutional way we shall ever be ready to contribute our utmost to the assistance of our mother-country.

We further instruct you to use your utmost endeavour to promote public frugality, to prevent any unconstitutional grants, and any unaccustomed draughts on the treasury, that the public money be applied only to the purposes to which it is from time to time appropriated.

Whilst with pleasure we behold a general sense of liberty, and those “essential constitutional rights” freedom of speech and of the press now prevailing; we do at the same time entertain a just abhorrence to any violences committed upon the substance of any person or persons whatever.

As to any other affairs, we leave their management to your noted prudence and judgment, in which we place the highest confidence.

[We bear that most of the other Towns throughout the Province have given Instructions to their Representatives nearly to the same Purport as the above.]

*The RESOLVES of the House of Delegates of the Province of Maryland,
September 28, 1765.*

1st. **R**ESOLVED unanimously, That the first adventurers, and settlers of this province of Maryland, brought with them, and transmitted to their Posterity, and all other his Majesty's Subjects since inhabiting in this Province, all the Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, and Immunities, that at any time have been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great-Britain.

2d. Resolved

2d. Resolved unanimously, That it was granted by Magna Charta, and other good Laws and Statutes of England, and confirmed by the Pition and and Bill of Rights, that the Subject should not be compelled to contribute to any Tax, Tallage, Aid, or other like Charge, not set by common consent of Parliament.

3. Resolved unanimously, That by a royal Charter granted by his Majesty King Charles the first, in the eighth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 1632, to Cecilius, then Lord Baltimore, it was (for the Encouragement of people to transport themselves and Families into this Province) amongst other things, covenanted and granted by his said Majesty, for himself, his Heirs, and Successors, as followeth; ' And we will also, and of our ' more special Grace, for us, our Heirs, and Successors, We do strictly en- ' join, constitute ordain and command, That the said Province shall be of our ' Allegiance, and that all and singular the liege people of Us, our Heirs and ' Successors, transported, or to be transported into the said province, and the ' Children of them, and of such as shall descend from them, there already ' born, or hereafter to be born, be, and shall be denizens and lieges of us, ' our Heirs and Successors, of our Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and ' be in all things held, treated, reputed and esteemed, as the liege faithful ' people of Us, our Heirs and Successors, born within our Kingdom of Eng- ' land, and likewise any Lands, Tenements, Revenues, Services, and other ' Hereditaments, whatsoever, within our Kingdom of England, and other ' our Dominions, may inherit, or otherwise, purchase, take, have, hold, buy ' and possess, and them may occupy and enjoy, give, sell, alien and bequeath, ' as likewise all Liberties, Franchises and Privileges, of this our Kingdom of ' England, freely, quietly and peaceably, have and possess, occupy and enjoy, ' as our leige people, born, or to be born, within our said Kingdom of Eng- ' land, without the Let, Molestation, Vexation, Trouble or Grievance of us, ' our Heirs and Successors; any Statute, Act, Ordinance or Provision ' to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.—And further, our pleasure is, ' and by these presents for us, our Heirs and Successors, We do covenant ' and grant to and with the said now Lord Baltimore, his Heirs and Assigns, ' that We, our Heirs and Successors, shall at no time hereafter, set or make, ' or cause to be set any Imposition, Custom, or other Taxation, Rate or ' Contribution whatsoever, in or upon the Dwellers and Inhabitants of the ' foresaid province, for their Lands, Tenements, Goods or Chattels within ' the said province, or in or upon any Goods or Merchandizes within the said ' province, or to be laden and unladen within any the ports and harbours ' of the said province: And our pleasure is, and for us, our Heirs and Suc- ' cessors, We charge and command, that this our declaration shall be hence- ' forward, from time to time, received and allowed, in all our courts, and ' before all the judges of Us, our Heirs and Successors, for a sufficient and ' lawful discharge, payment and Acquittance; commanding all and singular ' our officers and ministers of Us, our Heirs and Successors, and enjoining ' them, upon pain of our high displeasure, that they do not presume at any ' time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that they do ' in any sort withstand the same; but that they be, at all times, aiding and ' assisting, as is fitting, unto the said now Lord Baltimore, and his Heirs, and ' to the inhabitants and Merchants of Maryland aforesaid, their Servants, ' Ministers, Factors and Assigns, in the full use and fruition of the benefit ' of this our Charter."

4th. Resolved,

4th. Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this house, that the said Charter is declaratory of the constitutional rights and privileges of the freemen of this province.

5th. Resolved unanimously, That trials by juries is the grand Bulwark of liberty, the undoubted birthright of every Englishman, and consequently of every British subject in America, and that the erecting other jurisdictions for the trials of matters of fact, is unconstitutional, and renders the subject insecure in his Liberty and Property.

6th. Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this house, that it cannot with any truth or propriety be said, that the freemen of this province of Maryland, are represented in the British parliament.

7th. Resolved unanimously, That his Majesty's liege people of this ancient province, have always enjoyed the rights of being governed by the laws to which they themselves have consented, in the article of taxes and internal polity, and that the same have never been forfeited, or any other way yielded up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and People of Great-Britain.

8th. Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this house, that the Representatives of the Freemen of this province, in their Legislative Capacity, together with the other part of the legislature, have the sole right to lay Taxes & impositions on the inhabitants of this province, or their property and effects, and that the laying, imposing, levying, or collecting any tax, on or from the inhabitants of Maryland, under colour of any other authority, is unconstitutional, and a direct violation of the Rights of the Freemen of this Province.

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of
Monday, October 28, 1765.

B O S T O N, October 28.

WEDNESDAY last the Great and General Court or Assembly met here, according to Adjournment; and on Friday the House presented the following Answer to his Excellency's Speech at the Opening of the Sessions, inserted in this Paper the 30th ult.

May it please your EXCELLENCY,

THE house of Representatives have entered into a due consideration of your speech to both houses at the opening of this session; and should have earlier communicated to your Excellency our sentiments thereupon, had not the late sudden and unexpected adjournment prevented it.

WE must confess, that after your Excellency had called us together in pursuance of the unanimous advice of a very full council, we were in hopes you would have given the assembly time then to have considered the critical state of the province, and determined what was proper to be done at so difficult and dangerous a conjuncture.

YOUR Excellency tells us, that the province seems to be upon the brink of a precipice! A sight of its danger is then necessary for its preservation. To despair of the common wealth, is a certain presage of its fall: Your Excellency may be assured, that the Representatives of the people are awake to a sense of its danger, and their utmost prudence will not be wanting to prevent its ruin.

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WE indeed cou'd not have thought that a weakness in the executive power of the province had been any part of our danger, had not your Excellency made such a declaration in your speech: Certainly the General Assembly have done every thing incumbent on them; and laws are already in being for the support of his Majesty's authority in the province: Your Excellency doth not point out to us any defect in those laws; and yet you are pleased to say, that the executive authority is much too weak: Surely you cannot mean, by calling the whole legislative in aid of the executive authority that any new and extraordinary kind of power should by law be constituted, to oppose such acts of violence as your Excellency may apprehend from a people ever remarkable for their loyalty and good order; tho' at present uneasy and discontented. If then the laws of the province for the preservation of his Majesty's peace are already sufficient, your Excellency we are very sure need not to be told, to whose department it solely belongs to appoint a suitable number of magistrates to put those laws in execution or remove them in case of failure of their duty herein. And we hope this important trust will remain with safety to the province where the constitution has lodged it.

YOUR Excellency is pleased to tell us, that declarations have been made and still subsist, that the act of parliament for granting Stamp Duties in the colonies, shall not be executed within this province. We know of no such declarations—If any individuals of the people have declared an unwillingness to subject themselves to the payment of the stamp duties, and chuse rather to lay aside all business than make use of the stamp'd papers, as we are not accountable for such declarations, so neither can we see any thing criminal in them: This house has no authority to controul their choice in this matter: The act does not oblige them to make use of the papers; it only exacts the payment of certain duties for such papers as they may incline to use: Such declarations may possibly have been made, and may still subsist, very consistently with the utmost respect to the King and parliament.

YOUR Excellency has thought proper to enumerate very minutely the inconveniences that may arise from the stamp'd papers not being distributed among the people; with respect to some of which your love and concern for the province leads you to fear more for us than we do for ourselves. We cannot think your Excellency would willingly aggravate our dangers; we are not in particular so alarmed as your Excellency seems to be, with the apprehension of the hand of violence being let loose. Your Excellency, upon recollection, will find that all papers relative to Crown matters are exempt from Stamps. The persons of his Majesty's good subjects will still remain secure from injury: That spirit which your Excellency tells us attacks reputations and pulls down houses, will yet be curbed by the Law. The estates of the people will remain guarded from theft or open violence. There will be no danger of force of arms becoming the only governing power. Nor shall we realize what your Excellency is pleased to call a state of general outlawry. This we think necessary to be observed, without a particular consideration of all the consequences which your Excellency fears, to prevent, if possible, any wrong impressions from fixing in the minds of ill disposed persons, or remove them if already fixed.

You are pleased to say, that the Stamp-Act is an act of parliament, and as such ought to be observed. This House, Sir, has too great a reverence for the supreme legislature of the nation, to question its just authority: It by no means appertains to us to presume to adjust the boundaries of the power of parliament; but boundaries there undoubtedly are. We hope we may without offence, put your Excellency in mind of that most grievous sentence

tence of excommunication solemnly denounced by the church in the name of the sacred Trinity, in the presence of King Henry the Third, and the estates of the realm, against all those who should make statutes, or observe them being made contrary to the liberties of Magna Charta.—We are ready to think that those zealous advocates for the constitution usually compared their acts of parliament with Magna Charta; and if it ever happened that such acts were made as infringed upon the rights of that charter, they were always repealed. We have the same confidence in the rectitude of the present parliament; and therefore cannot but be surprized at an intimation in your speech, that they will require a submission to an act as a preliminary to their granting relief from the unconstitutional burdens of it; which we apprehend includes a suggestion in it far from your Excellency's design, and supposes such a wanton exercise of mere arbitrary power, as ought never to be surmised of the patrons of liberty and justice.

FURTHERMORE, your Excellency tells us that the right of the parliament to make laws for the American colonies remains indisputable in *Westminster*: Without contending this point, we beg leave just to observe that the charter of this province invests the General Assembly with the power of making laws for its internal government and taxation; and that this charter has never yet been forfeited. The parliament has a right to make all laws within the limits of their own constitution; they claim no more: Your Excellency will acknowledge that there are certain original inherent rights belonging to the people, which the parliament itself cannot divest them of, consistent with their own constitution: among these is the right of representation in the same body which exercises the power of taxation. There is a necessity that the subjects of America should exercise this power within themselves, otherwise they can have no share in that most essential right, for they are not represented in parliament, and indeed we think it impracticable. Your Excellency's assertion leads us to think that you are of a different mind with regard to this very material point, and that you suppose we are represented: but the sense of the nation itself seems always to have been otherwise. The right of the colonies to make their own laws and tax themselves, has been never that we know of questioned; but has been constantly recognized by the King and Parliament. The very supposition that the parliament, though the supreme power over the subjects of Britain universally, should yet conceive of a despotic power within themselves, would be most disrespectful: And we leave it to your Excellency's consideration, whether to suppose an indisputable right in any government, to tax the subjects without their consent, does not include the idea of such a power.

May it please your EXCELLENCY.

OUR duty to the King, who holds the rights of all his subjects sacred as his own prerogative; and our love to our constituents and concern for their dearest interests, constrain us to be explicit upon this very important occasion. We beg that your Excellency would consider the people of this province as having the strongest affection for his Majesty, under whose happy government they have felt all the blessings of liberty: They have a warm sense of the honour, freedom and independance of the subjects of a patriot King: They have a just value for those inestimable rights which are derived to all men from nature, and are happily interwoven in the British constitution: They esteem it sacrilege for them ever to give them up; and rather than lose them, they would willingly part with every thing else. We deeply regret it, that the parliament has seen fit to pass such an act as the Stamp Act:

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We flatter ourselves that the hardships of it will shortly appear to them in such a point of light as shall induce them in their wisdom to repeal it : In the mean time we must beg your Excellency to excuse us from doing any thing to assist in the execution of it : Were we in order to avoid assertions to resolve what we have to say on this head into mere questions, we should with all humility ask, Whether it would be possible for us to add any weight to an act of that most august body the parliament ? Whether it would not be construed an arrogance and presumption in us to attempt it ? Whether your Excellency can reasonably expect that the house of representatives should be active in bringing a grievous burthen upon their constituents ? Such a conduct in us would be to oppose the sentiments of the people whom we represent, and the declared instruction of most of them. They complain that some of the most essential rights of magna charta, to which as British subjects they have an undoubted claim, are injured by it : That it wholly cancels the very conditions upon which our ancestors settled this country, and enlarged his Majesty's dominion, with much toil and blood, and at their sole expence : That it is totally subversive of the happiest frame of subordinate, civil government expressed in our charter, which amply secures to the crown our allegiance, to the nation our connection, and to ourselves the indefeasible rights of Britons : That it tends to destroy that mutual confidence and affection, as well as that equality which ought ever to subsist among all his Majesty's subjects in his wide and extended empire : That it may be made use of as a precedent for their fellow-subjects in Britain for the future to demand of them what part of their estates they shall think proper, and the whole if they please : That it invests a single judge of the admiralty, with a power to try and determine their property in controversies arising from internal concerns, without a jury, contrary to the very expression of magna charta ; that no freeman shall be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage ; that it even puts it in the power of an informer to carry a supposed offender more than a thousand miles for trial ; and what is the worst of all evils, if his Majesty's American subjects are not to be governed, according to the known stated rules of the constitution, as those in Britain are, it is greatly to be feared that their minds may in time become disaffected ; which we cannot even entertain the most distant thought of without the greatest abhorrence.—We are truly sorry that your Excellency has never made it a part of your business to form any judgment of this act ; especially as you have long known what uneasiness the most distant prospect of it gave to his Majesty's good subjects in America, and of this province of which you are substituted to be the head and father ; had your Excellency thought it proper to have seasonable entered into a disquisition of the policy of it, you would, we doubt not, have seen that the people's fears were not without good foundation ; and the love and concern which you profess to have for them, as well as your duty to his Majesty, whose faithful subjects they are, might have been the most powerful motives to your Excellency to have expressed your sentiments of it early enough to those whose influence brought it into being.—

WE cannot help expressing our great uneasiness, that after mentioning some violences committed in the town of Boston, your Excellency should ask this house, whether such proceedings are consistent with the dutiful, humble and loyal representations which we propose should be made : We are sure your Excellency will not expressly charge us with encouraging the late disturbances ; and yet to our unspeakable surprize and astonishment, we can't but see, that
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by fair implication it may be argued from the manner of expression, that an odium was intended to be thrown on the province. We inherit from our ancestors the highest relish for civil liberty, but we hope never to see the time when it shall be expedient to countenance any methods for its preservation but such as are legal and regular. When our sacred rights are infringed, we feel the grievance; but we understand the nature of our happy constitution too well, and entertain too high an opinion of the virtue and justice of the supreme legislature, to encourage any means of redressing it, but what are justifiable by the constitution. We must therefore consider it as unkind for your Excellency to cast such a reflection on a province whose unshaken loyalty and indissoluble attachment to his Majesty's most sacred person and government was never before called in question, and we hope in God never will again. We should rather have thought your Excellency would have expressed your satisfaction in presiding over so loyal a people who in that part of the government where the violences were committed, before there was time for them to be supported by the arm of civil power, and even while the supreme magistrate was absent, by their own motion raised a spirit and diffused it through all ranks, successfully to interpose and put a stop to such dangerous proceedings.

YOUR Excellency is pleased to recommend a compensation to be made to the sufferers by the late disturbances:—We highly disapprove of the acts of violence which have been committed; yet till we are convinced that to comply with what your Excellency recommends, will not tend to encourage such outrages in time to come, and till some good reason can be assigned why the losses those gentlemen have sustained should be made good, rather than any damage which other persons on any different occasions might happen to suffer, we are persuaded we shall not see our way clear to order such a compensation to be made. We are greatly at a loss to know who has any right to require this of us, if we should differ from your Excellency in point of its being an act of justice which concerns the credit of the government. We cannot conceive why it should be called an act of justice, rather than generosity, unless your Excellency supposes a crime committed by a few individuals, chargeable upon a whole community.

WE are very sorry that your Excellency should think it needful to intimate that any endeavours have been, and may be used, to lessen your credit with this house. Your Excellency cannot but be sensible that when the popular pulse beats high for privileges, it is no unusual thing for a clamour to be raised against gentlemen of character and eminence. We can assure you that our judgment of men especially those in high stations, is always founded upon our experience and observation. While your Excellency is pleased to make your duty to our most gracious Sovereign, and a tender regard to the interest of his subjects of this province, the rule of your administration, you may rely upon the readiest assistance that this house shall be able to afford you. And you will have our best wishes that you may have wisdom to strike out such a path of conduct, as, while it secures to you the smiles of your royal master, will at the same time conciliate the love of a *free* and loyal people.

P H I L A D E L P H I A, Octob. 17.

By Capt. Mulford, from North Carolina, we are informed, that the gentleman appointed distributor of Stamps for that province, had resigned his office, on finding how disagreeable it was to the people, who, in general,

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have shewn as great a dislike to that law, as the inhabitants of any of the other colonies have done.

We hear an Express from the General Assembly of Georgia, has passed through this City for New-York, with Instructions from them, relating to the General Congress now holding there.

N E W-Y O R K. October 21.

We hear that the Design of establishing in this City a Market, to commence on Wednesday the 23^d Inst. for all Kinds of HOME MANUFACTURES meets with universal Approbation; as many were at a Loss to know how to come at what they wanted in these Articles; and it is expected that it will be equally convenient for those who have such Goods on Hand, and that quick Sale and ready Money will induce them and many others to increase their Diligence, and bring their Goods to Market.

A Meeting of the Friends to Liberty and the English Constitution, in this City and Parts adjacent, is earnestly desired, by great Numbers of the Inhabitants, in order to form an Association of all who are not already Slaves, in Opposition to all Attempts to make them so.

From the Rhode Island Mercury of Monday last.

Mr. HALL.

YESTERDAY, being Sunday, upon one of the Posts of the Draw Bridge on the Long Wharf, was seen a spirited Piece. The Author was something sanguine, but however, I am sorry he sign'd his Name Pasquin, i. e, a Libeller, for indeed he expressed no more than the real Sentiments of the Public; and tho' the S— M— of Rhode Island read it, scoffed, & swaggered, he and every person hinted at in that Piece, must remember, that Vox Populi is Vox Dei.

Phileleutherus.

The following is a Copy of the Piece found, Yesterday Morning, posted up on the Long Wharf.

Liberty and Property, and no EXCISE.

MUCH hath been said in favour of FREEDOM, but Stentor's lungs would fail, and Cicero's eloquence be exhausted, before an abandoned set of villains, distributed through the towns of America, could be persuaded of the value of it. Nothing but coercive means can do it. Rouse, then, my countrymen, and let them know coercive means shall be used! Shall such a forsworn V—n as the R—de I—d S—p M—n, in open violation of his oath, of his honour, as a Member of your community, and of your essential rights and privileges, send for the accursed Stamp-papers, and now bid you kiss his a—e? I say, should he do all this with impunity? Shall he do it and live? Or indeed shall any villain among you purchase any of his damnable trash and live? The first of November is very nigh, let not your courage cool, nor your resentment fail.—Don't be terrified at any thing, let not a few bectoring bullies, the C—s of men of war, scare you; they, like the Devil, are chained, and cannot go beyond their limits. Indeed fear nothing but slavery, love your LIBERTY, and fight for it like men who know the value of it. If you once lose it, it never will be regain'd, and children yet unborn will be eternally cursing your memory.

GOD bless GEORGE the third, King of Great-Britain, and King and Lord of America. May his reign be long and glorious. God bless the British parliament with a happy and glorious understanding.

N B. It is Voted and Resolved, by the respectable populace, That out of their body 30 persons be chosen to inspect and see, both by night and day, how

how many Stamp papers shall be landed out of the Cygnet man of war, and make report to this board.

It is Voted and Resolved, That the G—— of N—— shall use none of them in his office, upon pain of our highest displeasure.

It is Voted and Resolved, That if he will clear out no vessels upon paper without Stamps, that he shall be drove out of Town with a high Hand.

It is Voted and Resolved, by this respectable board, That any merchant clearing out his vessel upon St—p papers, shall meet with our highest displeasure.

L O N D O N.

Aug. 27. It is said an order will soon be dispatched to suspend the execution of Vice-Admiralty Courts of his Majesty's North American provinces, till the subject of certain appeals from thence shall be discussed in the ensuing grand assembly of the nation.

B O S T O N, October 28.

We hear that the Merchants and Friends to America in England, were determined to use their utmost Endeavours the next Session of Parliament, in order to get the Stamp Act Repeal'd.

Wednesday last the Great and General Court met here according to Adjournment; and we hear that most every Member of the Honourable House of Representatives have received Instructions from their Constituents; and that they are of the same Import with those already published.

We hear from Halifax in the Province of Nova-Scotia, that on Sunday the 13th instant in the Morning, were discover'd hanging on the Gallows behind the Citadel-Hill, the Effigies of a Stampman, accompanied with a Boot and Devil, together with Labels suitable to the Occasion, (which we cannot insert, not being favour'd with the same) this we are informed gave great pleasure and Satisfaction to all the Friends of Liberty and their Country there, as they hope from this instance of their Zeal, the Neighbouring Colonies will be charitable enough to believe that nothing but their dependent situation prevents them from heartily and sincerely opposing a Tax unconstitutional in its nature, and of so destructive a tendency as must infallibly entail Poverty and Beggary on us and our Posterity, if carried into Execution.

By a Vessel arriv'd at Rhode Island last Week from Maryland, we are inform'd, that some of the People there who wore white Cockades in their Hatts, with the Word Liberty thereon, gave such Offence to a Lieutenant of a Man of War, that he insulted them and drew his Sword, which exasperated the People to a Degree, that they strip'd and tied him to a whipping Post, and gave him a very genteel Flagellation.

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Evening-Post* of Monday, October 28, 1765.

[Continued from our last.]

HA V E not these measures a fatal tendency to destroy that good affection and confidence between our gracious King, the British Parliament, and his American Subjects, which has most happily subsisted, and is highly important?

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Never a people more loyal than the Americans; that more exulted in their relation to the mother country, and enjoyment of British liberties; that had a greater affection to their sovereign, or more intire confidence in the British parliament. And had the just and gentle measures of the former reign been continued, their loyalty had been fixed;—by every principle of affection, duty and Interest, it would have been fixed immoveable for ever. But do not these measures tend to a fatal breach of this affection and confidence? If our royal grants and charters, which we esteemed compacts with the colonies, are vacated on the other part:—I say, if the royal word and seal pledg'd in our charters, is not to be rely'd upon; will they not say, Where is the foundation of confidence in English, more than French faith? If our privileges by charter, and of the common law in full, so sacredly made over to us, under royal hand and seal; and ever till now graciously allowed us, must be sovereignly taken away; what have we to trust to, but sovereign rule, and arbitrary power? If such security fails us, what verbal, yea, what kind of security can avail us? And where the solid foundation for the continued affection, confidence and loyalty of A——ns? Protection and loyalty, and securities for both, must be mutual to a firmly compacted State: and where the one falls, it is well known in a free state, the other can't be long secure. And what renders the case harder is—it comes as a consequent, and one sort of requital for eminent services for the crown and kingdom. The colonies have been a great service to the nation, by their trade, and in wars also; particularly the two last. Never colonies exerted themselves more freely, or better (according to their ability) for the service of the realm; than the British. And were ever any worse requited?—We verily tho't, we meritted at least continuance of privileges; if not additional favours. But, I trust, not one in a million, ever tho't, we should be requited, with disherision, and disfranchisement, for our filial affection and services. This is a new and strange method of rewarding, which, perhaps, may be commensurate to the sagacity of a B—te, B—dfo--d and Gr—le, who will be had in remembrance by Americans, as an abomination, execration and curse; at least as long as these measures continue.

But is this treatment tender, just, or politick! It has already had an amazing effect, on the minds of many thousands; and doubtless will have a worse, if continued. May not Great Britain, want Assistances from Americans, as they have heretofore done? But to impoverish them; to alienate their affections; to destroy their confidence, and punish their loyalty with disherision---Is this the way to have them?---Suppose the most urgent occasions; and suppose Mr. PITT (next to the King in the heart of Americans) to be replaced in his office, and to use all his eloquence, can any man of sense imagine that men or monies can be freely raised in the American colonies, without a reversion of these measures, and a restoration of their privileges?

Let us also inquire---Do not these measures tend to ruin the mutual affection and good harmony that has been between the inhabitants of Great-Britain & America? If they persist in it, they have a right to lay on Americans very unequal burthens, in point of trade; and also have a right to lay on Americans internal taxes (to ease themselves) in what manner and measures they please; and that they have a right to place over us, at our expence,---and for us to support,---as many placemen and taskmasters as they see fit; if there must be one rule of trial for them, and another kind of court and manner of trial for the A--ri--ns---at the election of infamous infor-

informers :---In short, if they claim a sovereign power to suspend or take away our privileges at pleasure---or fix the terms of our enjoyment of them upon what conditions they please; (perhaps the next a Land Tax, or some ecclesiastical test of communion, but whether with the church of England---or Scotland---or of Rome, to be determined by the affection of the M---r or M---y---) if they must be absolute masters, and we wretched slaves, who may neither buy nor sell---nor have any legal securities or remedies, of defence of Life, Liberty, and Property, but upon their terms, to be newly fixed for us as oft as they see fit! Good God! Where is the constitution;---What a slender tenure this, for Englishmen to hold all their privileges by! Or where the solid foundation of that good affection, and harmony, which has heretofore so happily subsisted between the several parts of the British empire, in England and America?

As the Result of all, Do not these measures tend to a very fatal Civil War? I hope, in the mercy of God, things may never be pushed to this bloody! this dreadful issue! which must be attended with infinite ill-consequences to the Mother Country and Colonies; and considering the advantage, France and Spain would certainly make of such a crisis; could scarce fail of ending in the ruin of England and America.

But for the tendency of these measures let the reader judge. If they are pursued, I take it for certain, the Americans (every way prevented of supplies by Trade) have not, and cannot have money enough but a short time to pay these Taxes with their other Debts and necessary charges of government. And what must be the consequence? but their lands, the dear patrimony of their fathers---settled with great expence, difficulty and hazard; and manur'd with equal toil, for want thereof, must pass to taskmasters here, or to the men of ease and wealth in Britain, who have schemed them away for nought. And is this a small evil in the eye of A---ri---ns---or in the sight of the just and eternal judge?---And can the people bear it?---Is it not vanity to expect it, till they have lost the memory of their dear fathers---are lost to their own interest, and in their affection to their posterity? In short---never 'till they have lost the British spirit---are scandals to the English name---and deserve to wear an eternal chain. Or view it another way. Suppose human nature the same as in foregoing ages---and that like cause will have like effects---and what the probable consequence? What were the grievances that have caused the most terrible civil wars, and rivers of blood in England? Was it not the superceeding and trampling upon their liberties, which have been held by common law---time immemorial; and afterwards confirmed in the Norman way, under hand and seal by charter from Henry 1st.---and afterwards by King John; and particularly sovereign judgements and executions without a trial by their peers---that were chief causes of the Baron wars---that made those noble patrons of liberty associate, shed their blood, and swear by him that lives for ever and ever---that they would part with their substance, and life itself, before they would part with these liberties? Was not the raising taxes by ship money, &c. without the consent of the good people of England who were to pay them, and arbitrary courts of trial, contrary to the rights of Englishmen and the common usages of the land, principal grievances and causes of the civil war in the reign of Charles I? Were not the unconstitutional arbitrary courts erected, contrary to the English liberty, and usages of the nation; corruption of trials by pack'd juries; the arbitrary taking away and trampling upon the privileges of royal charters, and the refusing to hear petitions and re-

dress grievances---arbitrary suspension of laws and executions legally obtained ; among the principal civil grievances in the reign of James II. which caused the glorious revolution ? For which the nation needed and inexpressibly joyed in a deliverer. If A--ri--ns apprehend their grievances similar to some of these, which have produced such prodigious scenes in the nation ; are we sure they will never call to mind revolution principles taken from the great Selden, and the best writers of the English nation ? such as, Where there " is a right there is a remedy. And the usages of the nation is the law of " the nation, as much as the usages of parliament is the law of parlia- " ment. And the law of self-preservation takes place of all the laws of " compact when they come into competition, &c." And can we be sure they will have no effect ? Indeed if their uneasiness was only a sudden heat of passion ; from the *novelty* of the tax, it might issue and die in some transient tumults only ; but if it proceeds from a deliberate apprehension that their most important civil liberties are deeply affected : and this uneasiness is increased, and more deep rooted, the more attentively it is considered ; (as is now the case in fact) then the ill effect is like to be great and lasting ; and to increase (and not abate) by length of time as the weight of these measures will be more painfully felt.

And what makes the matter worse, is, the zealous, scribbling advocates for these measures seem to be counsellors of Rehoboam's stamp ; instead of hearing the cries, and redressing the grievances of a most loyal and injured people, they are (his counsellors like) for adding burthen upon burthen, till they make the little finger of his present Majesty, a thousand times heavier than the loins of his good grand-father, and would bind all fast with a military chain. But where do such councils tend ? How their's ended in Israel—In such a revolt and wide breach as could never be healed, is well known. How this will end, time must discover. If in a similar event (which is not impossible to the providence of God, nor more improbable to Britons than five years ago, this stamp act was to Americans) the loss of two millions of the best affected subjects ; and one third, some say one half of the profits of the national trade, must be no small weakening to the most flourishing kingdom in the world. In fine, such are the nature and number of the evils apprehended, as I should think sufficient to awaken us to an engaged attention to our case ; to convince us of the necessity of a general congress, and excite the other governments, from every principle of love and loyalty to our gracious King ; to the British parliament ; to the interest of the nation and of the colonies---to use their utmost efforts, in lawful constitutional measures to avert these evils, and for the repeal of this Stamp Act.

The reasons assigned for these extraordinary measures, are far from satisfactory. 'Tis hard to find the real occasions of state ; and hence the reasons given by their sycophant writers, are so various, weak and inconsistent. The general reason is " the better protecting and securing of the American " colonies." This is very ambiguous.—Have not a free people a right to know to what purpose their monies are to be applied ? May we not ask what protection is meant ; is it past---or future---or present ? Some are for looking back, and say, 'tis reasonable we should contribute to diminish the vast national debt ; but we know how it has arose---by what immense sums sunk in the ocean—Germany—in which Americans have no more concern than East Indiamen. And is there any refunding from Germany ?—We know what enormous sums are annually expended—in support of numerous

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idle officers and place men in Great Britain, which must always keep the nation low; but they are not of American appointment or good will; no, we have long pitied our fellow subjects in Britain under these heavy burthens;—when we never thought they would attempt to saddle our backs with them: I hope these are not to be charged to American protection. When our forefathers were few and poor, and encompassed with innumerable enemies, they greatly needed help and protection; yet then, there was no such concern and bustle about it; no, they were left unassisted to their own efforts, and the protection of their God. And no wonder, there was no money immediately to be got by it---But now we are numerous and Canada and our enemies are subdued---scarce an enemy dare lift up his head in all the land---now hungry place men, and those who would be such, make a mighty bustle about our better protection---and we must be heavily taxed, and an hundred thousand pound annually raised and sent over to the Exchequer for the purpose---and by the way, many thousands of it to go into the pockets of placemen and Stamp Officers of different classes; and is not this kind in them? But what special protection have we ever had, except in the two last wars, in which, with great gratitude, we acknowledge the favor of our gracious King, and the British parliament; but are of opinion, as to the first, that the taking of Cape Breton for the crown and realm, was more than a ballance for that and all foregoing protections. And as to the last, we were our full proportion, according to our ability, which might bring us off clear: if not---we assisted, and did our part, according to what was required, 'till Canada and the Havannah were conquered; and the whole profits of these grants and rich conquests have gone to Great-Britain, and not a farthing to these colonies. Yea more, has not Great Britain, in fact, received an indemnification for the expences of the last war, while Americans have received none? Has not the vast territory of Canada, Louisiana and Florida been added to Great Britain? By what right? They had no prior claim to either. Upon what consideration was it ceded to them? but as an indemnification for the charges of the war; and this indemnification received, is our discharge. When they have once received it, to require it of Americans over again, is such cruelty and oppression as we are sure a righteous parliament would never practice; and none but greedy half-thinking politicians would ever think of. Or supposing any remainder---we think they ought to look to the signers of the peace, who had enough in their hands for it; and not distress the poor Americans. To leave us to pay our own heavy debts for the war, and yet pay part of their's, looks as unjust as for British merchants to oblige the American merchants to pay their own debts and part of theirs---when the former are a thousand times more able: or if there was a demand, we should think it ought to be a certain sum, from which, when paid, we might be fully discharged; and not we and our posterity be subject to heavy, perpetual and endless taxes, for some supposed but unknown arrear---which no such pretence can ever justify.

Or is this protection future? The expressions of the act seem to look this way. But what protection of this kind do we want more than the inhabitants of Great Britain? Or why we so heavily taxed to fill the Exchequer, and they not a farthing raised for this purpose!—Is this equal? Why this distinction? Or what tendency has this measure to our better protection? Do we not need our monies (even more than the British subjects) for trade, that we may lay up something for our protection? All we have is far from
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a sufficient medium for trade, and upon that account can't pay the British merchants the large sums we owe them. We are very far from a sufficient medium for a time a war; and hence the large paper emissions we are obliged to emit upon all such occasions. Let us now suppose the little silver and gold we have is drawn home by taxes, we are impoverished---our monies above three thousand leagues distant, and hoarded up out of our power ever to command; is our protection and security against an invasion, better in this situation, than with our monies and all the profits of them in our own hands? Or will it not throw us into a state of the greatest insecurity, and expose us to be an easy prey to any enslaving power that may invade us? And if it be the base design of any in the M---y to reduce us to such a weak, helpless, wretched state, that they may make us a prey, we owe them no thanks for it.

Or is it for present exigencies of state? Here again we have a wild chace, to find a real occasion of state for these heavy taxes. Some tell us they are needed to augment the salaries of Governors, & Judges, &c. But such a tax for such purpose---is such gross stupidity and superlative nonsense, as requires no answer; 'tis added to support courts of Vice-Admiralty, &c. with eight hundred pounds salary----Indeed we know that several thousands of it is to go to support arbitrary courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty and a numerous tribe of Stamp-Officers and Taskmasters, all as here employed, we esteem a dead weight upon an honest, industrious community. But is this our better protection? If it must pass by any other than its proper name, it may be called M---st--l Policy, or National Thrift, or any thing else;---but to pass it off for better security and protection, does it not carry a direct insult upon the understandings of Britons and Americans?---'Tis added---to support fifteen thousand regular troops, to be dispersed thro' the American governments, to awe and keep them in order, and make them to submit to these taxes, &c.---But do not such sycophants know that a standing army for such Purposes in a time of peace, is most contrary to the spirit of the British constitution? That it is most dangerous to the liberties of a free people; that Rome---France, and many others---lost their liberties by it. Have they forgot how it alarmed our nation, and the effects of it in the reigns of Charles the 1st, and James the 2d? May not such preposterous officious impolicy send us a Cæsar, to break off our connection to Great Britain, and set up as a protector of the liberties of the colonies? Or may it not plunge us here and at home, into a bloody civil war; the damage of which to the nation, an hundred thousand hireling scribblers could not countervail? When they speak of these dreadful measures with such a bloody gust and relish, we could wish them to remember the fable of the Frogs, "What is Sport to them is Death to us:" For the moment but 300 Regulars are imposed upon Americans for such a purpose, our Liberty is lost---we are in fact under a military government, which is no government---'tis horrid tyranny, and one of the worst sort---And who needs a moment to determine whether it is protection or destruction such scribblers drive at----

[To be continued.]

Boston,

Boston, October 28.

WEDNESDAY last the Great and General Court or Assembly met here, according to Adjournment; and on Friday the House presented the following Answer to his Excellency's Speech at the Opening of the Sessions, inserted in this Paper the 30th ult.

May it please your EXCELLENCY,

THE house of Representatives have entered into a due consideration of your speech to both houses at the opening of this session; and should have earlier communicated to your Excellency our sentiments thereupon, had not the late sudden and unexpected adjournment prevented it.

WE must confess, that after your Excellency had called us together in pursuance of the unanimous advice of a very full council, we were in hopes you would have given the assembly time then to have considered the critical state of the province, and determined what was proper to be done at so difficult and dangerous a conjuncture.

YOUR Excellency tells us, that the province seems to be upon the brink of a precipice! A sight of its danger is then necessary for its preservation. To despair of the common wealth, is a certain presage of its fall: Your Excellency may be assured, that the Representatives of the people are awake to a sense of its danger, and their utmost prudence will not be wanting to prevent its ruin.

WE indeed cou'd not have thought that a weakness in the executive power of the province had been any part of our danger, had not your Excellency made such a declaration in your speech: Certainly the General Assembly have done every thing incumbent on them; and laws are already in being for the support of his Majesty's authority in the province: Your Excellency doth not point out to us any defect in those laws; and yet you are pleased to say, that the executive authority is much too weak: Surely you cannot mean, by calling the whole legislative in aid of the executive authority that any new and extraordinary kind of power should by law be constituted, to oppose such acts of violence as your Excellency may apprehend from a people ever remarkable for their loyalty and good order; tho' at present uneasy and discontented. If then the laws of the province for the preservation of his Majesty's peace are already sufficient, your Excellency we are very sure need not to be told, to whose department it solely belongs to appoint a suitable number of magistrates to put those laws in execution or remove them in case of failure of their duty herein. And we hope this important trust will remain with safety to the province where the constitution has lodged it.

YOUR Excellency is pleased to tell us, that declarations have been made and still subsist, that the act of parliament for granting Stamp Duties in the colonies, shall not be executed within this province. We know of no such declarations—If any individuals of the people have declared an unwillingness to subject themselves to the payment of the stamp duties, and chuse rather to lay aside all business than make use of the stamp'd papers, as we are not accountable for such declarations, so neither can we see any thing criminal in them: This house has no authority to controul their choice in this matter: The act does not oblige them to make use of the papers; it only exacts the payment of certain duties for such papers as they may incline to use: Such declarations may possibly have been made, and may still subsist, very consistently with the utmost respect to the King and parliament.

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YOUR Excellency has thought proper to enumerate very minutely the inconveniences that may arise from the stamp'd papers not being distributed among the people ; with respect to some of which your love and concern for the province leads you to fear more for us than we do for ourselves. We cannot think your Excellency would willingly aggravate our dangers ; we are not in particular so alarmed as your Excellency seems to be, with the apprehension of the hand of violence being let loose. Your Excellency, upon recollection, will find that all papers relative to Crown matters are exempt from Stamps. The persons of his Majesty's good subjects will still remain secure from injury : That spirit which your Excellency tells us attacks reputations and pulls down houses, will yet be curbed by the Law. The estates of the people will remain guarded from theft or open violence. There will be no danger of force of arms becoming the only governing power. Nor shall we realize what your Excellency is pleased to call a state of general outlawry. This we think necessary to be observed, without a particular consideration of all the consequences which your Excellency fears, to prevent, if possible, any wrong impressions from fixing in the minds of ill disposed persons, or remove them if already fixed.

You are pleased to say, that the Stamp-Act is an act of parliament, and as such ought to be observed. This House, Sir, has too great a reverence for the supreme legislature of the nation, to question its just authority : It by no means appertains to us to presume to adjust the boundaries of the power of parliament ; but boundaries there undoubtedly are. We hope we may without offence, put your Excellency in mind of that most grievous sentence of excommunication solemnly denounced by the church in the name of the sacred Trinity, in the presence of King Henry the Third, and the estates of the realm, against all those who should make statutes, or observe them being made contrary to the liberties of Magna Charta.—We are ready to think that those zealous advocates for the constitution usually compared their acts of parliament with Magna Charta ; and if it ever happened that such acts were made as infringed upon the rights of that charter, they were always repealed. We have the same confidence in the rectitude of the present parliament ; and therefore cannot but be surprized at an intimation in your speech, that they will require a submission to an act as a preliminary to their granting relief from the unconstitutional burdens of it ; which we apprehend includes a suggestion in it far from your Excellency's design, and supposes such a wanton exercise of mere arbitrary power, as ought never to be furnished of the patrons of liberty and justice.

FURTHERMORE, your Excellency tells us that the right of the parliament to make laws for the American colonies remains indisputable in *Westminster* : Without contending this point, we beg leave just to observe that the charter of this province invests the General Assembly with the power of making laws for its internal government and taxation ; and that this charter has never yet been forfeited. The parliament has a right to make all laws within the limits of their own constitution ; they claim no more : Your Excellency will acknowledge that there are certain original inherent rights belonging to the people, which the parliament itself cannot divest them of, consistent with their own constitution : among these is the right of representation in the same body which exercises the power of taxation. There is a necessity that the subjects of America should exercise this power within themselves, otherwise they can have no share in that most essential right, for they are not represented in parliament, and indeed we think it impracticable. Your Ex-

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lency's assertion leads us to think that you are of a different mind with regard to this very material point, and that you suppose we are represented: but the sense of the nation itself seems always to have been otherwise. The right of the colonies to make their own laws and tax themselves, has been never that we know of questioned; but has been constantly recognized by the King and Parliament. The very supposition that the parliament, though the supreme power over the subjects of Britain universally, should yet conceive of a despotic power within themselves, would be most disrespectful: And we leave it to your Excellency's consideration, whether to suppose an indisputable right in any government, to tax the subjects without their consent, does not include the idea of such a power.

May it please your EXCELLENCY.

OUR duty to the King, who holds the rights of all his subjects sacred as his own prerogative; and our love to our constituents and concern for their dearest interests, constrain us to be explicit upon this very important occasion. We beg that your Excellency would consider the people of this province as having the strongest affection for his Majesty, under whose happy government they have felt all the blessings of liberty: They have a warm sense of the honour, freedom and independance of the subjects of a patriot King: They have a just value for those inestimable rights which are derived to all men from nature, and are happily interwoven in the British constitution: They esteem it sacrilege for them ever to give them up; and rather than lose them, they would willingly part with every thing else. We deeply regret it, that the parliament has seen fit to pass such an act as the Stamp Act: We flatter ourselves that the hardships of it will shortly appear to them in such a point of light as shall induce them in their wisdom to repeal it: In the mean time we must beg your Excellency to excuse us from doing any thing to assist in the execution of it: Were we in order to avoid assertions to resolve what we have to say on this head into mere questions, we should with all humility ask, Whether it would be possible for us to add any weight to an act of that most august body the parliament? Whether it would not be construed as arrogance and presumption in us to attempt it? Whether your Excellency can reasonably expect that the house of representatives should be active in bringing a grievous burthen upon their constituents? Such a conduct in us would be to oppose the sentiments of the people whom we represent, and the declared instruction of most of them. They complain that some of the most essential rights of magna charta, to which as British subjects they have an undoubted claim, are injured by it: That it wholly cancels the very conditions upon which our ancestors settled this country, and enlarged his Majesty's dominion, with much toil and blood, and at their sole expence: That it is totally subversive of the happiest frame of subordinate, civil government expressed in our charter, which amply secures to the crown our allegiance, to the nation our connection, and to ourselves the indefeasible rights of Britons: That it tends to destroy that mutual confidence and affection, as well as that equality which ought ever to subsist among all his Majesty's subjects in his wide and extended empire: That it may be made use of as a precedent for their fellow-subjects in Britain for the future to demand of them what part of their estates they shall think proper, and the whole if they please: That it invests a single judge of the admiralty, with a power to try and determine their property in controversies arising

[N. B. *The Remainder of this Paper was not sent to the Council-Office.*]

COPY of the *Massachusetts Gazette*, and *Boston News Letter*,
of *Thursday*, October 31, 1705.

B O S T O N, October 28.

WEDNESDAY last the Great and General Court or Assembly met here, according to Adjournment; and on Friday the House presented the following Answer to his Excellency's Speech at the Opening of the Sessions, inserted in this Paper the 30th ult.

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THE house of Representatives have entered into a due consideration of your speech to both houses at the opening of this session; and should have earlier communicated to your Excellency our sentiments thereupon, had not the late sudden and unexpected adjournment prevented it.

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future to demand of them what part of their estates they shall think proper, and the whole if they please: That it invests a single judge of the admiralty, with a power to try and determine their property in controversies arising from internal concerns, without a jury, contrary to the very expression of magna charta; that no freeman shall be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage; that it even puts it in the power of an informer to carry a supposed offender more than a thousand miles for trial; and what is the worst of all evils, if his Majesty's American subjects are not to be governed, according to the known stated rules of the constitution, as those in Britain are, it is greatly to be feared that their minds may in time become disaffected; which we cannot even entertain the most distant thought of without the greatest abhorrence.—We are truly sorry that your Excellency has never made it a part of your business to form any judgment of this act; especially as you have long known what uneasiness the most distant prospect of it gave to his Majesty's good subjects in America, and of this province of which you are substituted to be the head and father; had your Excellency thought it proper to have seasonably entered into a disquisition of the policy of it, you would, we doubt not, have seen that the people's fears were not without good foundation; and the love and concern which you profess to have for them, as well as your duty to his Majesty, whose faithful subjects they are, might have been the most powerful motives to your Excellency to have expressed your sentiments of it early enough to those whose influence brought it into being.—

WE cannot help expressing our great uneasiness, that after mentioning some violences committed in the town of Boston, your Excellency should ask this house, whether such proceedings are consistent with the dutiful, humble and loyal representations which we propose should be made: We are sure your Excellency will not expressly charge us with encouraging the late disturbances; and yet to our unspeakable surprize and astonishment, we can't but see, that by fair implication it may be argued from the manner of expression, that an odium was intended to be thrown on the province. We inherit from our ancestors the highest reliish for civil liberty; but we hope never to see the time when it shall be expedient to countenance any methods for its preservation but such as are legal and regular. When our sacred rights are infringed, we feel the grievance; but we understand the nature of our happy constitution too well, and entertain too high an opinion of the virtue and justice of the supreme legislature, to encourage any means of redressing it, but what are justifiable by the constitution. We must therefore consider it as unkind for your Excellency to cast such a reflection on a province whose unshaken loyalty and indissoluble attachment to his Majesty's most sacred person and government was never before called in question, and we hope in God never will again. We should rather have thought your Excellency would have expressed your satisfaction in presiding over so loyal a people who in that part of the government where the violences were committed, before there was time for them to be supported by the arm of civil power, and even while the supreme magistrate was absent, by their own motion raised a spirit and diffused it through all ranks, successfully to interpose and put a stop to such dangerous proceedings.

YOUR Excellency is pleased to recommend a compensation to be made to the sufferers by the late disturbances:—We highly disapprove of the acts of violence which have been committed; yet till we are convinced that to comply with what your Excellency recommends, will not tend to encourage such
outrages

outrages in time to come, and till some good reason can be assigned why the losses those gentlemen have sustained should be made good, rather than any damage which other persons on any different occasions might happen to suffer, we are persuaded we shall not see our way clear to order such a compensation to be made. We are greatly at a loss to know who has any right to require this of us, if we should differ from your Excellency in point of its being an act of justice which concerns the credit of the government. We cannot conceive why it should be called an act of justice, rather than generosity, unless your Excellency supposes a crime committed by a few individuals, chargeable upon a whole community.

WE are very sorry that your Excellency should think it needful to intimate that any endeavours have been, and may be used, to lessen your credit with this house. Your Excellency cannot but be sensible that when the popular pulse beats high for privileges, it is no unusual thing for a clamour to be raised against gentlemen of character and eminence. We can assure you that our judgment of men, especially those in high stations, is always founded upon our experience and observation. While your Excellency is pleased to make your duty to our most gracious Sovereign; and a tender regard to the interest of his subjects of this province, the rule of your administration, you may rely upon the readiest assistance that this house shall be able to afford you. And you will have our best wishes that you may have wisdom to strike out such a path of conduct, as, while it secures to you the smiles of your royal master, will at the same time conciliate the love of a free and loyal people.

From the VOTES of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

MARTIS, 29 Die OCTOBRIS, A. D. 1765.

In the House of REPRESENTATIVES.

ACCORDING to the Order of the Day, there being a very full House, the following Draft, which had been laid on the Table was particularly considered, and thereupon Voted.

Whereas the just Rights of His Majesty's Subjects of this Province, derived to them from the *British Constitution*, as well as the *Royal Charter*, have been lately drawn into Question: In order to ascertain the same, this House do UNANIMOUSLY come into the following Resolves.

1. *Resolved*, That there are certain essential Rights of the *British Constitution* of Government which are founded in the Law of God and Nature, and are the common Rights of Mankind----Therefore

2. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province are *unalienably* entitled to those essential Rights in common with all Men: And that no Law of Society can, consistent with the Law of God and Nature, divest them of those Rights.

3. *Resolved*, That no Man can justly take the Property of another without his Consent: And that upon this original Principle the Right of Representation in the same Body, which exercises the Power of making Laws for levying Taxes, which is one of the main Pillars of the *British Constitution*, is evidently founded.

4. *Resolved*, That this *inherent* Right, together with all other essential Rights, Liberties, Privileges and Immunities, of the People of *Great Britain*, have been fully confirmed to them by *Magna Charta*, and by former and later Acts of Parliament.

5. *Resolved*, That His Majesty's Subjects in *America*, are in Reason and common Sense, entitled to the same Extent of Liberty, with His Majesty's Subjects in *Britain*.

6. *Resolved*, That by the Declaration of the Royal Charter of this Province, the Inhabitants are entitled to all the Rights, Liberties, and Immunities of free and natural Subjects of *Great Britain*, to all Intents, Purposes and Constructions whatever.

7. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province appear to be intitled to all the Rights aforementioned, by an Act of Parliament 13th of Geo. 2d.

8. *Resolved*, That those Rights do belong to the Inhabitants of this Province, upon Principles of *common Justice*; their Ancestors, having settled this Country at their *sole Expence*; and *their* Posterity, having constantly approved themselves most loyal and faithful Subjects of *Great Britain*.

9. *Resolved*, That every Individual in the Colonies, is as advantageous to *Great Britain*, as if he were in *Great Britain*, and held to pay his full Proportion of Taxes there: And as the Inhabitants of this Province pay their full Proportion of Taxes, for the Support of His Majesty's Government *here*, it is unreasonable for them to be called upon, to pay any Part of the Charges of the Government *there*.

10. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province are not, and never have been, represented in the Parliament of *Great Britain*: And that such a Representation *there*, as the Subjects in *Britain* do actually and rightfully enjoy, is *impracticable* for the Subjects in *America*:---And further, That in the Opinion of this House, the several subordinate Powers of Legislation in *America*, were constituted, upon the Apprehensions of this *Impracticability*.

11. *Resolved*, That the *only* Method, whereby the constitutional Rights of the Subjects of this Province can be secure, consistent with a Subordination to the supreme Power of *Great Britain*, is by the continued Exercise of such Powers of Government as are granted in the Royal Charter, and a firm Adherence to the Privileges of the same.

12. *Resolved*, as a just Conclusion from some of the foregoing Resolves, That all Acts made, by any Power whatever, other than the General Assembly of this Province, imposing Taxes on the Inhabitants, are Infringements of our *inherent* and *unalienable* Rights as *Men* and *British Subjects*: and render void the most valuable Declarations of our *Charter*.

13. *Resolved*, That the Extension of the Powers of the Court of Admiralty within this Province, is a most violent Infraction of the Right of Trials by Juries.---A Right, which this House upon the Principles of their *British Ancestors*, hold most dear and sacred it being the only Security of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of his Majesty's Subjects here.

14. *Resolved*, That this House owe the strictest Allegiance to His Most Sacred Majesty King GEORGE the Third: That they have the greatest Veneration for the Parliament: And that they will, after the Example of *all* their Predecessors, from the Settlement of this Country, exert themselves to their utmost in supporting his Majesty's Authority in the Province,---in promoting the true Happiness of his Subjects: and in enlarging the Extent of his *Dominion*.

Ordered, That all the foregoing Resolves be kept in the Records of this House; that a just Sense of Liberty, and the firm Sentiments of Loyalty may be transmitted to Posterity.

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of
Monday, November 4, 1765.

Messieurs EDES and GILL,

I HAVE for a long time been content to be an humble reader of your Speculations, and have silently admired the most cogent arguments which your Paper has afforded against the Stamp Act: I don't remember that I have seen any thing in favour of it, but His E——y's late Speech, and to my great mortification, *that* has been fully answered by the honorable House of Representatives: I should have been glad to have seen the measures which have been promoted by that most able minister Mr. G——lle, vindicated; for I am sure from the opinion which I have adopted of the *wisdom* and *integrity* of so great a *statesman* & *patriot*, there are some things to be said of his measures which have escaped the notice of your correspondents.——I can't but think if they had not been under the power of prejudice, they would have mentioned a few things which have already taken effect in consequence of the ever to be admired act. Has it not awakened thousands, may I not say millions, to a sense of the importance of securing their right and privileges which in the way we were in, we might have been wheedled out of, by the artful insinuations of men in power, and the canting, cringing, smiling, hypocritical management of their understrappers, tools & sycophants? Has it not been the means of untwisting the *Gordian* knot which might have required the sword of an *Alexander* to cut; and broken the chain of connection, which was every year growing more formidable, and in time might have circumscrib'd and bound a whole continent fast? Do not the people now see the concatenation of causes and effects, which have bro't on a *convulsion* in America, not to compleat, but to prevent its ruin by slow degrees? Has it not taught us that it is in vain, any longer, to look for help, to the flattering, soothing dependents and slaves of corrupt and arbitrary ministers; but directly to the source of all goodness under heaven, the throne? Has it not led the people of the colonies to unite their applications to the wisest and most august body on earth, the parliament; and put it in our power or rather spirited us to make "such dutiful and humble representations" there, as may well make those unrelenting tyrants, who for sordid gain, would have abus'd their superiors, to tremble? When I mention tyrants, I mean those who have long practis'd methods of subduing the spirits of a manly and generous people, by *art*; tho' some of them it is thought would not have scrupled to have tried the severer method of *arms*? Rejoice then my countrymen, that the *Stamp Act*, even the STAMP ACT was ever thought of—yet TOUCH NOT, HANDLE NOT THE PAPERS: You have no need to have recourse to *violent* methods any longer—The channel is now open to the ear & heart of the best of KINGS: Rely upon it, He will hear you, and his PARLIAMENT will enable him to redress you—Let every one study to be quiet, and do his own business, as far as the *circumstances* of things will allow—Wait the Event—The happy time of redemption draws nigh—You have nothing to do now, but to look down upon those, who would fain have been your domineering masters, with pity and contempt.

BRITANNUS AMERICANUS.

BOSTON,

B O S T O N, November 4.

We are well assured that the late General Congress unanimously agreed on a Declaration of their Opinion of the Rights of the British Colonists, and of the Grievances under which they labor. This Declaration is in substance the same with the Resolves of the several Assemblies. Dutiful and loyal Petitions to his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament were also agreed on and forwarded to Great Britain. It was also agreed earnestly to recommend it to the several Assemblies to appoint special Agents for soliciting Relief from their present Grievances, and to unite their utmost Interest and Endeavours for that Purpose; and that the Proceedings of the Congress should not be printed, till there be Opportunity to present the Petitions, great Indecency in that Respect having taken Place the last Year. On Friday the 25th ult. the Congress having executed their Commission, the Gentlemen took a very affectionate Leave of each other, and the same Day most of them set out from New York for their respective Colonies.

On Friday last, the Hon. James Otis, Esq; one of the Commissioners for this Province arrived here, and the same Day reported the Proceedings of the Congress to the House, which were approved; and the Thanks of the House unanimously Voted to their Committee for their Service. The next Morning the House voted to appoint a special Agent on this Occasion; and Tuesday next is the Time appointed to consider whether a Person shall be sent from hence, or a special Agent chosen in England.

Notwithstanding the Insinuations of those who would represent the Inhabitants of this Town as Mobbish, it has no doubt given Pleasure to the General Assembly now sitting, to find it quite otherwise; and that the spirited Endeavours of those who would picture the Betrayers of their invaluable Liberties in a just and ridiculous View, are attended with the greatest Order and Decorum. An Evidence of this we had last Friday, being the fatal First of November. The Effigies of certain Persons were exhibited upon the TREE OF LIBERTY, in the Morning, and in the Afternoon they were carried in solemn Procession thro' the public Streets of the Town, and from thence to the Gallows; and tho' there was perhaps a greater Concourse of Persons than ever was before at any Execution, the whole Ceremony was performed in the Light of the Sun, and not the least Mischief was done or attempted.—We are well assured, and we have Reason to think, that the Inhabitants are satisfied in it, that if any Exhibitions are made, as usual, on the 5th of the Month, the same unexceptionable Behaviour will be observed; those true Sons of Liberty having agreed to unite as Brethren, in preventing Disorders of every Kind, and in promoting the COMMON CAUSE.

It is hoped and expected that a Parliamentary Enquiry will be made into the Conduct of one of the Members of the late Congress chosen in the like warm State of Things, who it is said has not signed the Resolves and Petitions, &c. of that respectable Body, and this for the Satisfaction of the good People of the Massachusetts Bay.

The Governor of Maryland having desired the Advice of the Assembly, with Respect to taking Care of the Stamped Paper, as the Officer appointed for that Purpose had gone off, they reply'd; "In answer to your Message just now received, relative to the Stamp'd Paper, we should think ourselves extremely happy were we in Circumstances to advise your Excellency on so new a Subject: But it being a Matter of Importance, and such as we do not think ourselves at Liberty to advise in, without the Instructions of our Constituents,

stituents, which we cannot now obtain, we hope your Excellency will think us excuseable for declining to offer you any Advice upon the Occasion."

Numbers who are knowing to the Character of a certain Gentleman from the Country, and the Influence he is under, look upon it, that had his Name been affix'd to certain Writings, it would have given great Cause to suspect that they were not as they should be.

We hear that before the Choice of a late A—t every Member of a certain A——y was closeted by the G—. It is hoped that there will be no Hugger-mugger Work in the ensuing, but that all will be Truth and Day Light.

The Maryland Gazette, which some Time since complained of a violent cruel Kick, lingered till the 10th Instant, and then expired in great Agony, aged 21 Years, uttering these Words: In "(uncertain) Hopes of a Resurrection to Life again."

LAST FRIDAY being the Day the Stamp-Act *was to* take Place, the Public were not much alarmed or displeased at the Morning's being usher'd in by the Tolling of Bells in several Parts of the Town, and the Vessels in the Harbour displaying their Colours half mast high, in token of Mourning; and tho' some previous Steps had been taken by Authority to prevent any Pageantry, fearing lest Tumult and Disorder might be the Consequence, yet the People were soon informed that the Great Tree at the South Part of the Town (known by the Name of the *Tree of Liberty* ever since the memorable 14th of August) was adorned with the Effigies of the two famous or rather infamous enemies of American Liberty, *George G—nn—e* and *John H—sk—*. The Figures continued suspended without any Molestation till about 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon, when they were cut down in the View and amid the Acclamations of several Thousand People of all Ranks, and being placed in a Cart, were with great Solemnity and Order followed by the Multitude, formed into regular Ranks, to the Court House, where the Assembly was then Sitting; from thence proceeding to the North End of the Town and then returning up Middle Street, they pass'd back thro' the Town to the Gallows on the Neck, where the Effigies were again hung up, and after continuing some Time were cut down, when the Populace, in token of their utmost Detestation of the Men they were designed to represent, tore them in Pieces and flung their Limbs with Indignation into the Air.—This being done, three Cheers were given, and every Man was desired to repair to his Home, which was so punctually performed, that the Evening was more remarkable for Peace and Quietness than common; a Circumstance that would at any Time redound to the Honor of the Town, but was still more agreeable, as the Fears of many were great lest it should prove another 26th of August; for the horrid Violences of which Night we hope the good Order of this will in some Measure atone, as it is a Proof such Conduct was not agreeable to the Sentiments of the Town, but was only the lawless Ravages of some foreign Villains, who took Advantage of the over heated Temper, of a very few People of this Place, and drew them in to commit, such Violences and Disorders as they shuddered at with Horror in their cooler Hours.

The following are the Labels affix'd on the Breasts of each of the above mention'd Effigies, viz.

On that representing G---ge G--nv--le, holding out a Stamp Act in his Left Hand.

YOUR Servant Sirs, do you like my Figure,
You've seen one Rogue, but here's a bigger:
Father of Mischief! how I soar,
Where many a Rogue has gone before:
Take heed my Brother Rogues, take heed,
In me your honest Portion read:
Dear Cousin PETER no Excuse,
Come dance with me without your Shoes;
'Tis G—le calls, and sink or swim,
You'd go to H—l to follow him.

On the Figure representing J—n H—k.

Quest. What, Brother H—sk this is bad?

Answ. Ah indeed! I am a wicked Lad;

My Mother always thought me wild,

The Gallows is thy Portion Child

She often said, behold 'tis true,

And now the Dog must have his due;

For idle Gewgaws, wretched Pelf,

I sold my Country—d--m'd my self;

And for my great unequal'd Crime,

The D—l take H—sk before his Time.

But if some Brethren I could Name,

Who shar'd the Crime, should share the shame,

This glorious Tree tho' big and tall,

Indeed would never hold 'em all.

P H I L A D E L P H I A, October 24.

Extract of a Letter from Bristol, August 15.

“ The present Situation of the Colonies alarms every Person who has any Connection with them; and if our new Ministry do not repeal the Act made by the old One, we shall all be ruined.—The Avenues of Trade are all shut up—We have no Remittances, and are at our Wits End for Want of Money to fulfil our Engagements with our Tradesmen.—How this will end, Time only can evince; however we dread the Consequences.”

N E W - Y O R K, October 28.

On Tuesday Evening arrived the Ship Edward, Capt. William Davis, in nine Weeks from London, and six Weeks and three Days from Falmouth, with whom Major Cary, of the Royal Americans, and his Lady; Mr. Webb, another Gentleman of the Army, Mr. Hendricke, Merchant, came Passengers; by some of whom we learn, that Sir HARRY MOORE, Governor of this Province, was on board the Minerva, Captain Tillet, lying at Portsmouth, and expected to sail from thence about the Time Captain Davis sailed from Falmouth, and therefore may be daily expected here—The Duke

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of Cumberland Packet-Boat, was arrived from this Port in three Weeks Passage. The new ministry were in general much approved by the Public, whose Attention had been so much taken up with the Bustle occasioned by the late extraordinary Change, that our most just and heavy Complaints of Oppression, had as yet scarcely attracted the Public Notice—indeed they had not then heard that our Distresses were so grievous, and our Complaints so extensive and unanimous. Which may serve as an Example to show the Absurdity of the Pretences of our being represented by those who can feel no Part of the Burdens and Distresses they would impose upon us;—or that we could be represented at all, even if we chose Persons for that Purpose, in an Assembly too remote to have timely and necessary Notices of our Circumstances, or to be properly under our Influence: However it was the general Talk in London, that we should be eased in the Stamp Duties; (Nothing but giving up the Pretence to the Right of taxing us, can ease us)—And some say it was a Wager commonly offered in the Coffee Houses of One Hundred Guineas to One, that the Stamp Act would be repealed as soon as the Parliament met, which was to be about the middle of November—the Emperor of Germany was dead.

As soon as it was known that the Stamps were really arrived, all the Vessels in the Harbour lower'd their Colours, to signify Mourning, Lamentation, and Woe. Alas! What have we done to merit such Treatment from our Mother Country, and our Brethren? Have we deserved to be thus degraded and dishonoured, and used by them, as the most inveterate Enemies? What strange Infatuation has prevail'd in their Councils! To distress, ruin and enslave us, when our Rights and Privileges are precisely the same, and our Interests inseparably united!

It is reported, that the Governor sent to Mr. M'-Evers, desiring him to take Care of the Stamps, who said he had nothing to do with them. At present, as we are inform'd there is not one of the Persons appointed, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, that will execute the odious Office; so that the Stamps are now a Commodity no Body knows what to do with, and are more abominable, and dangerous to be meddled with, than if they were infected with the Pestilence—It is more dangerous to buy or sell or meddle with a Stamp, than it is to encounter all the Dangers and Penalties attending the Want of them—*A M E N.*

Captain Davis acquaints the Public, That he is extremely sorry they should be offended at his bringing the stamped Paper from England—Had he been fortunate enough to have known that such a Step would have been disagreeable, they may be assured they never should have come in the Edward.

We hear that most of the Gentlemen in Town, have entered into a Resolution not to buy any European Manufactures till their Trade is more opened, the *Sugar Act* altered, and the *Stamp Act* is repealed: It is hoped this will animate the Country People to make plenty of Linens and Woolens, as they may be assured of a quick Sale, and good Prices.

It must give great Pleasure to all Wellwishers to their Country's Prosperity, to see the spirited Zeal of the Ladies of the first Rank and Fortunes, to promote this laudable scheme.

Mess. EDES & GILL,

Portsmouth, Novem. 1, 1765.

Yesterday great Numbers of our Brethren in the Country, equally with ourselves, abhorring the Thoughts of the Operation of the oppressive Stamp Act, came in Bodies with Design of showing a Resentment to the
Papers,

Papers, and to Mr. Meserve, whom they had been imprudently told did design to distribute them; upon which some of his Majesty's Council, and a Number of Gentlemen from the Town, met them at the Globe Tavern on the Plain, and there expostulated with them on the Fallacy of such a Report, and Mr. Meserve very honorably assured them that he should be so far from distributing them, that he had come to a Resolution, that no Person living should have them, *unless they were demanded*, from as full an Assembly as desired him to decline the Office,—he was obliged to satisfy them with his Oath in Presence of great Numbers of Persons; upon which they returned to their respective Homes in Peace, but vowing Revenge to the first Person who should attempt to make use of one Stamp Paper for the Preservation of their Property, at the Expence of their future Liberty. This Day, the great and important Day, big with the Fate of Cato and of Rome, was ushered in by the solemn sound of the passing Bell—the Colours of all the Shipping are hoisted Half mast high—The melancholly Knell causes such uneasy Sensations in my Mind, that forbodes some fatal Event before the Close of it. God grant us Protection at this solemn Trial of our invaluable Rights, that we may come off Conquerors, yea more than Conquerors over all our Enemies.—This Afternoon we shall pay Funeral Obsequies to our departed Liberty by a Burial and Procession in Form, at which all gentle and simple, old and young are to attend.

NEWPORT, October 28.

As the great Wisdom of the Astronomers and Astrologers at W——r, some Months past, did predict the Exit of North American Liberty would happen at Twelve o'Clock on Thursday Night, the 31st of this Instant; some few of his Friends went a few Days ago to wait upon the poor old Gentleman, and found him indeed gasping his last, and now find him reduced to a Skeleton, and begin to pay great Deference to the Augury, and have made proper Preparations for the venerable Gentleman's Interment, which is to be performed on Friday the 1st of November next: The Procession to begin, from the Crown Coffee-House, at half after Eleven in the Forenoon—where all his true Sons are desired to repair; but if there is any Bastard kin, it is desired they would not sully his Memory with their Company.

His Children inform the whole World, that they will take proper Notice of every Motion of Disorder and Riot, either before, at, or after the Funeral and prosecute the Offenders.

A MOURNER.

Messieurs EDES and GILL.

Stoughton, October 30, 1765.

YOU having not long since favoured the public with a Sermon, which hath happily led many persons into the right understanding of a text of sacred Scripture, [Psalm 105. 15.] which hath been very much wrested by wicked men; if not to their own destruction, yet with a pernicious design against their country; hath encouraged me to hope the following will find a place in your Paper. They are the heads of a sermon found among the papers of a venerable ancestor of mine, who preached it more than half a century since: It is very probable from the exhortation annexed to these notes, that it was at some alarming Crisis, when the Liberties of the people were much endangered; and it was needful for their Representatives to be well guarded against the attacks that crafty and wicked men were making upon them. Whether my conjecture be right or not, is of no great consequence: the publishing of them at this time I trust will do no hurt, perhaps may do some good. If the resurrection and appearance of the bones

bones of an old puritannick sermon, long since dead and buried for a time in oblivion, should prove a terror to the wicked, yet will it be matter of joy to every good man, that a friend to his country being dead, is in this way made once more to speak for that public good, which it seems he laid so much to heart when living. It is to be presumed this discourse had its good effects, for I find the author thus noting upon it; I have no reason to repent my studying and preaching this discourse; my labour hath been abundantly rewarded by the success that hath attended it. There being such an excellent spirit breathing in the following Notes, may put many upon desiring to see the whole that was preached; but they are to know that here is all that could be found, and I am ready to imagine this is the whole of what he wrote; as his usual way of discoursing was from a few general heads penned down, to be enlarged upon in publick: If you have room for what follows in your next, their appearing there may oblige many, beside your humble Servant,

H. R.

TEXT. Acts 13th Chap. 7th to 12th v. "*The Deputy of the Country, —a prudent Man, desired to hear the Word of God; but Elymas the Sorcerer sought to turn away the Deputy from the Faith. Then Saul, i. e. Paul, set his eyes upon him, and said, O full of all Subtilty and all Mischief, thou Child of the Devil, thou Enemy of all Righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right Ways of the Lord? And now behold the Hand of the Lord is upon thee; and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the Sun for a Season. And immediately there fell on him a Mist and a Darknes; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the Hand. Then the Deputy when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the Doctrine of the Lord.*"

Doct. 1. Wise and good deputies desire to learn their duty from the word of God. So Sergius Paulus the deputy mentioned in our text as a prudent man, desired to hear the word of God.

Doct. 2. It is sometimes the unhappiness of good deputies to be so connected with false prophets and court forcerers, as to have their faith shock'd by them. So we find Elymas with the deputy in our text.

Doct. 3. These conjurers will make use of all their skill in the black art to turn deputies from the faith. So Elymas in our text sought to turn the deputy from the faith.

Doct. 4. Such as by their wicked management would turn deputies from the faith, are the most odious and detestable creatures; they are the genuine offspring of the old serpent the devil; they are of their father the devil, and his lusts they will do. (1) Like the devil they are crafty; O full of subtilty. (2) They are as cruel as they are crafty; O full of all mischief. (3) They are enemies to all that is good; Thou enemy of all righteousness; a perverter of the right ways of the Lord. Thus doth Paul characterise them, and when he thus spake, it will appear to all that read our text with care, he was infallible.

Doct. 5. Such as wickedly and craftily would seduce deputies from the faith, by perverting the right ways of the Lord, are in danger of being so hardened in their wickedness as to persist in them to their ruin. Wilt thou never cease, says Paul to the Sorcerer?

Doct. 6. Wise and good men will mark such wicked seducers, and let them know by their looks they see through their wicked devices. Paul set his eyes upon him.

Doct. 7. As all good men will mark such as would turn their deputies from the faith, so will they bear a public testimony against them; that those who

who are in danger from their craft may be guarded against them. So did Paul in our text, and the name of Elymas, for so was the seducer named, is handed down to latest posterity, with the *stamps* of infamy upon him.

Doct. 8. Such as would subtly and maliciously turn deputies from the faith, may expect the hand of heaven in some severe judgment upon them. Behold the hand of God is upon thee!

Doct. 9. Such seducers will find themselves not only short-sighted or pur-blinded now; but that the god of this world hath fatally blinded them as to their best interest. Thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun.

Doct. 10. Justly do those wander in the dark, who would by their wicked craft blind the eyes of the rulers of the people, and so make them to err. There fell on him a mist and a darkness, and he went about in it.

Doct. 11. Those who by the black art of subtilty and malice would lead others out of the way, especially by turning deputies from the faith, are many times so covered with darkness as not to know whither they go; and would accept of those to lead them by the hand, whom they would have led by the nose. So Elymas went about seeking some to lead him by the hand.

Doct. 12. When faithful deputies see the vengeance of heaven executed upon those who would turn them from the faith, they are filled with a greater regard than ever for the word of faith. So the deputy in our text, when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord.

Use of EXHORTATION in *three* Branches.

First, To all faithful men lovers of their country: My friends, I need not tell you we live in *perilous times*; and it is to be feared in *perils among false brethren*. There seems to be that designed for us, which all wise and good men are ready to say is more intolerable than any thing that hath happened from the days of our fathers being driven from their native country, by the cruel persecution of bloody men, to this day. You need not take advice about it, you may freely speak your mind. Are we not all with one consent ready to take up the lamentation, *We and our Children are sold, to be destroyed and to perish*? And shall we do nothing but look upon one another, lamenting our unhappy circumstances? Far be this desponding spirit from the good people of this land—We would hope better things from the descendents of those worthies, who, for the sake of civil and religious liberty, risked life and fortune, and went cheerfully thro' the fatigues of settling a wilderness. The way is open to the throne of a good king; we trust he will hear us when we call. And whilst with humble duty we are supplicating the favour of our prince, let us as it is our duty, bear our testimony against those who by craft and malice would bring ruin upon this people, especially by their stratagems to turn the deputies from the faith. The dumb son that never spake before, seeing his father's life in danger, cried out, spare my father; and we all naturally cry stop the thief, when we see the felon unrighteously carrying away our property. Let us then learn our duty from the text, and mark them that would bring ruin upon us. Set your eyes upon, and by significant looks as well as gestures, let them know that you are not ignorant of their character: whilst the face of heaven is against such wicked men, the face of all good men should be against them. It was the saying of an honest man, I always mark them that God marks. And we read that Mordecai, that great patriot, paid no compliments to the ambitious Haman, whilst that wicked man was plotting the ruin of his people; but by his behaviour toward him, he shewed him and the people he was not worthy of civil respect, though at the same time, he would have abhorred the thought of

injuring so wicked a courtier, either in his person or property. But this is not all, for whilst our text would have wicked and designing men mark'd, it would have a due testimony born against them. There is no harm in calling a knave a knave, a fool a fool, and a tool a tool. Are you acquainted with any such? let them know that you are not ignorant of their true character. Do not speak to them in parables; but say as Nathan to David, Thou art the man. And thus says the scripture of Ahab, that he did evil above all that went before him. This is that Ahab that sold himself to work wickedness, and his punishment as well as his sin, is put upon sacred record; a lying spirit seduced him to his destruction. And Elymas, for so was the sorcerer named in our text, is handed down to posterity, as before observed, with the stamps of infamy upon him. My brethren, you see your duty; you are not to partake with those in their sins, who for their own private advantage, or to gratify their friends, would sacrifice their country; but look upon them as pestilent fellows, for ever to be shunned and abhorred. It is good advice of an inspired writer, "*have no communion with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them; for it is a shame to speak of those things that are done of them in secret.*"

Secondly, To all good men and true, called to represent the body of this people: Tho' it hath been said if we would find faith, we must not look into c——'s for it; yet as there were saints of Cæsar's house, would we not hope that the faith once delivered to the saints, is in some of these our brethren. You see your calling brethren, you are to conflict with the powers of darkness, and with wicked men in high places. I need not tell you what is your duty: All I am concerned for, is to keep you steadfast in the faith, whilst you are to help against the mighty. The command of the word is, waver not. You are sensible you are much exposed to those that lie in wait to deceive you, to the ruin of the people. What violence cannot perpetrate, fraud may effect. Therefore be not ignorant of the devices of the old grand deceiver, nor of those who under his influence lay snares and set traps to catch men; whilst they neither fearing God nor regarding men to secure a worldly interest, have made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, and would have you follow their pernicious ways; be you attentive to the path of duty; walk in the way of good men; we trust that whilst you are found in these ways, you shall be proof against all the craft of earth and hell; you shall easily put to silence all gainsayers; a mouth and wisdom shall be given you, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist; put on righteousness, and it shall clothe you; it shall be to you a robe and a diadem: Boldly say you are ready to sacrifice every thing to the cause of truth and justice, but you can do nothing against the truth. Whilst you fear God and honor the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, or would make changelings of others, you shall find none of all those evil things that are hastening upon the instruments of his cruelty, whose hellish character is the destroyer shall come upon you; no, but instead of this, whilst a love to the faith leads you to a love of your country, besides the divine blessing, the blessing of a people ready to perish shall come upon you, and your names with the glorious addition of the favours of their country, shall be handed down to posterity, and your offspring shall be blessed for your sakes. I leave you, brethren, wishing, that like Mordecai, you may be great among your people, accepted of the multitude of your brethren, seeking the wealth of your people and speaking peace to all your seed; and that like Moses, you may by faith endure, not regarding the wrath or fawnings of any man.

Thirdly,
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Thirdly, To those who being filled with all subtlety and malice, are opposing the cause of truth and justice, by seeking to turn deputies from the faith, I entreat you see your danger and fear lest what is written against the perverters of the right ways should come upon you. Have you not heard that evil men and seducers wax worse? you then are in danger, if you do not retreat from those crooked paths in which you are following after the old serpent, that his curse shall be upon you, to feed upon the dust of this evil world all your days; and what is worse, be left to harden yourselves to your utter ruin, and descend with him into perdition; for he that being often reprov'd hardneth his neck, shall be destroyed, and that without remedy. When the divine hand is lifted up, will you not see? When his hand is upon you, will you not feel? O foolish and unwise! are you not mark'd by all good men? and evil men that cannot go your length in wickedness despise you, and perhaps may be made the rods to punish you. Restraints are sometimes taken off from the sons of violence, and the fury of that place from whence comes your and their wickedness, may so pursue you in an enraged multitude, that you may be glad to retire into an inner chamber of your own house, or not thinking yourselves secure there, take sanctuary under the roof of a poor neighbour, who by your crafty and cruel practices, you have been stamping under your feet, and what is more awful, what if your consciences should be let loose upon you, may not strangling and death, rather than life, be your unhappy choice? And though you escape Haman's execution, you may have Judas's, and go as he did to your own place. The time will certainly come, when painted and whited sepulchres shall be smitten, and their stench and rottenness disclosed. The wicked shall soon perish from the earth, and all their fine blaze expire in smoke and stink. The wicked man now flatters himself in his own eyes, but his iniquity will be found to be hateful. If any among us do justly wear the character of such as are enemies to all righteousness, of such we say *Deus avertat amen*. I have nothing more to add, but the advice of Peter to Simon the forcerer, Repent and pray to God that the thoughts of thine heart may be forgiven thee.

From the VOTES of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

MARTIS, 29. Die OCTOBRIS, A. D. 1765.

In the House of REPRESENTATIVES.

ACCORDING to the Order of the Day, there being a very full House, the following Draft, which had been laid on the Table was particularly considered, and thereupon *Voted*.

Whereas the just Rights of His Majesty's Subjects of this Province, derived to them from the *British Constitution*, as well as the *Royal Charter*, have been lately drawn into Question: In order to ascertain the same, this House do UNANIMOUSLY come into the following Resolves.

1. *Resolved*, That there are certain essential Rights of the *British Constitution* of Government which are founded in the Law of God and Nature, and are the common Rights of Mankind---Therefore

2. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province are *unalienably* entitled to those essential Rights in common with all Men: And that no Law of Society can, consistent with the Law of God and Nature, divest them of those Rights.

3. *Resolved*, That no Man can justly take the Property of another without his Consent: And that upon this original Principle the Right of Representation in the same Body, which exercises the Power of making Laws for levying Taxes, which is one of the main Pillars of the British Constitution, is evidently founded.

4. *Resolved*, That this *inherent* Right, together with all other essential Rights, Liberties, Privileges and Immunities, of the People of *Great Britain*, have been fully confirmed to them by *Magna Charta*, and by former and later Acts of Parliament.

5. *Resolved*, That His Majesty's Subjects in *America*, are in Reason and common Sense, entitled to the same Extent of Liberty, with His Majesty's Subjects in *Britain*.

6. *Resolved*, That by the Declaration of the Royal Charter of this Province, the Inhabitants are entitled to all the Rights, Liberties, and Immunities of free and natural Subjects of *Great Britain*, to all Intents, Purposes and Constructions whatever.

7. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province appear to be intitled to all the Rights aforementioned, by an Act of Parliament 13th of GEO. 2d.

8. *Resolved*, That those Rights do belong to the Inhabitants of this Province, upon Principles of *common Justice*; their Ancestors, having settled this Country at their *sole Expence*; and their Posterity, having constantly approved themselves most loyal and faithful Subjects of *Great Britain*.

9. *Resolved*, That every Individual in the Colonies, is as advantageous to *Great Britain*, as if he were in *Great Britain*, and held to pay his full Proportion of Taxes there: And as the Inhabitants of this Province pay their full Proportion of Taxes, for the Support of His Majesty's Government *here*, it is unreasonable for them to be called upon, to pay any Part of the Charges of the Government *there*.

10. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province are not, and never have been, represented in the Parliament of *Great Britain*: And that such a Representation *there*, as the Subjects in *Britain* do actually and rightfully enjoy, is *impracticable* for the Subjects in *America*:---And further, That in the Opinion of this House, the several subordinate Powers of Legislation in *America*, were constituted, upon the Apprehensions of this *Impracticability*.

11. *Resolved*, That the *only* Method, whereby the constitutional Rights of the Subjects of this Province can be secure, consistent with a Subordination to the supreme Power of *Great Britain*, is by the continued Exercise of such Powers of Government as are granted in the Royal Charter, and a firm Adherence to the Privileges of the same.

12. *Resolved*, as a just Conclusion from some of the foregoing Resolves, That all Acts made, by any Power whatever, other than the General Assembly of this Province, imposing Taxes on the Inhabitants, are Infringements of our *inherent* and *unalienable* Rights as *Men* and *British Subjects*: and render void the most valuable Declarations of our *Charter*.

13. *Resolved*, That the Extension of the Powers of the Court of Admiralty within this Province, is a most violent Infraction of the Right of Trials by Juries.---A Right, which this House upon the Principles of their *British Ancestors*, hold most dear and sacred it being the only Security of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of his Majesty's Subjects here.

14. *Resolved*, That this House owe the strictest Allegiance to His Most Sacred Majesty King GEORGE the Third: That they have the greatest Veneration for the Parliament: And that they will, after the Example of *all* their

their Predecessors, from the Settlement of this Country, exert themselves to their utmost in supporting his Majesty's Authority in the Province,---in promoting the true Happiness of his Subjects: and in enlarging the Extent of his Dominion.

Ordered, That all the foregoing Resolves be kept in the Records of this House; that a just Sense of Liberty, and the firm Sentiments of Loyalty may be transmitted to Posterity.

EXTRACTS from the Supplement to the *Boston-Gazette* of *Monday, Nov. 4, 1765.*

At a legal Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Plymouth, this 21st Day of October 1765.—JAMES WARREN, Esq; chosen Moderator—Unanimously agreed on the following Instructions, Viz.

To THOMAS FOSTER, Esq;

Representative of the Town of Plymouth, at the Great and General Court of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England.

S I R,

AS we have the highest Esteem of the British Constitution, which we think founded on the true Principles of Liberty, and to deserve on many Accounts the Preference to any other now on Earth, We can but reflect with Pleasure on our own Happiness, in being Sharers in that Liberty, those Rights, and that Security, which results from them to every Subject, in the wide extended Dominions of our most gracious Sovereign, who has not forfeited his Right to them by disloyalty to the King, want of Attachment, and a reasonable Submission to the British Government, and Love to his Fellow Subjects there; these are so foreign to the true Character of the People of this Country, that Calumny itself has never been able to fix it upon them: We have evinced our Loyalty to our King, our Affection to the British Government, and our Mother Country, on all Occasions, by an uncommon Readiness to assist in any Measures with our Blood and Treasure, to extend their Conquests, and to enlarge those Dominions, from which they reap so many and great Advantages. At the same Time that we reflect on our happiness in having a natural and constitutional Right to all the Privileges of our Fellow Subjects in Great Britain, we behold with Pain and Horror, any Attempts to deprive us of them, and can not but look on such Attempts as Instances of the greatest Unkindness & Injustice. This is the Subject of our present Complaint which not without Reason echo from every Mouth in every Corner of this distressed and injured Country. Our Youth the Flower of this Country are many of them slain, our Treasure exhausted in the Service of our Mother Country, our Trade, and all the numerous Branches of Business dependent on it reduced, and almost ruined by severe Acts of Parliament, and now we are threatned by a late Act of Parliament with being loaded with internal Taxes, without our own Consent or the Voice of a single Representative in Parliament, and with being deprived of that darling Privilege of an Englishman, Trials by his Peers, the Consequence of the unconstitutional Extention of the Power of Courts of Admiralty in America; these two are the main Pillars of the

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British Constitution, and the Glory of every Freeman there; so that the depriving us of them, creates such a Distinction between us and them our Fellow Subjects, as can't be accounted for from any Principles of Justice and Impartiality; and we certainly have never given any Occasion for. We shall say nothing on this Occasion of our Inability to pay the many and great Taxes laid upon us by the Stamp Act; of the many new Crimes opened by it, which cannot but be committed by many People, however desirous they may be to avoid them; of the prodigious penalties annexed to them, or of the great Hardship in subjecting the Trial of them to the Judgment of such a Court, and such a Manner of Conviction, or of the many great Disadvantages that must arise from these Measures to Great Britain herself: These are obvious Facts, and have already been handled in such a masterly and convincing Manner, by some of the Friends of both this and the Mother Country, and of the British Constitution (for they can't be separated) as to render it unnecessary to enlarge on them.

You, *Sir*, represent a People who are not only descended from the first Settlers of this Country, but inhabit the very Spot they first possessed. Here was first laid the Foundation of the British Empire in this Part of America, which from a very small Beginning has increased and spread in a Manner very surprizing and almost incredible; especially when we consider that all this has been effected without the Aid or Assistance of any Power on Earth, that we have *Defended, Protected and Secured*, ourselves against the Invasions and Cruelty of Savages, and the Subtily and Inhumanity, of our inveterate and natural Enemies the French; and all this without the Appropriation of any Tax by Stamps, or Stamp Acts laid upon our Fellow Subjects in any Part of the King's Dominions, for defraying the Expences thereof. This Place, *Sir*, was at first the Asylum of Liberty, and we hope will ever be preserved sacred to it; tho' it was then no more than a forlorn Wilderness, inhabited only by Savage Men and Beasts. To this Place our Fathers (whose Memories be rever'd) possess'd of the Principles of Liberty in their Purity, disdaining Slavery, fled to enjoy those Privileges which they had an undoubted Right to, but were deprived of by the Hands of Violence and Oppression in their native Country. We *Sir*, their Posterity, the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of this Town, legally assembled for that Purpose, possess'd of the same Sentiments, and retaining the same Ardour for Liberty, think it our indispensable Duty, on this Occasion, to express to you these our Sentiments of the Stamp Act, and its fatal Consequences to this Country, and to enjoin upon you, as you regard not only the Welfare, but the very Being of this People, that you (consistent with our Allegiance to the King, and Relation to the Government of Great-Britain) disregarding all Proposals for that Purpose, exert all your Power and Influence to oppose the Execution of the Stamp Act, at least until we hear the Success of our Petitions for Relief. We likewise to avoid disgracing the Memories of our Ancestors, as well as the Reproaches of our own Consciences, and the Curses of Posterity, recommend it to you to obtain if possible in the honorable House of Representatives of this Province, a full and explicit Assertion of our Rights, and to have the same entered on their publick Records, that all Generations yet to come may be convinced that we have not only a just Sense of our Rights and Liberties, but that we never (with Submission to divine Providence) will be Slaves to any Powers on Earth; and as we have at all Times an Abhorrence of Tumults and Disorders, we think ourselves happy in being at present under no Apprehensions of any, and in
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having good and wholesome Laws sufficient to preserve the Peace of the Province in all future Times, unless provoked by some imprudent Measures: So we think by no Means adviseable for you to interest yourself in the Protection of Stamp Papers, or Stamp Officers.

The only Thing we have further to recommend to you at this Time is, to observe on all Occasions a suitable Frugality and Oeconomy in the public Expences; and that you consent to no unnecessary or unusual Grant at this Time of Distress, when the People are groaning under the Burthen of heavy Taxes: And that you use your Endeavours to enquire into, and bear Testimony against, any past, and to prevent any future unconstitutional Draughts on the public Treasury.

The following are the INSTRUCTIONS voted by the Town of Newbury-Port, at a legal Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of said Town, October 21. 1765. and given to DUDLEY ATKINS, Esq; their Representative.

TO DUDLEY ATKINS, Esq;

S I R,

WHEN the Town chose you for their Representative, at the General-Assembly, they intrusted you with some of their most darling Rights and Privileges: Of these you are in general to be the Guardian, and your own Prudence is to be your Guide; but at the same Time they reserve to themselves, the Right of declaring their Sentiments in any Matters of Importance respecting the public Welfare, and giving you such Instructions, in critical Conjunctions, as they shall judge proper; this Right, we apprehend, is one peculiar Advantage that arises from a Representation by one of our selves in that General Assembly, where our important Interests are debated and acted upon. Each Member of the House of Representatives is by Constitution to be a Freeholder of the Town he represents, and must, from hence, be supposed to be acquainted with the peculiar Circumstances of his Constituents, and also on Emergencies he has an Opportunity of taking the Voice of his Constituents, and thereby their true Interest is likely to be consulted. Such a critical Emergency, we apprehend, is now come, and of that importance to our Rights and Liberties as to call for the prudent Consideration of every Member in the Community.

We your Constituents, therefore, would now give our Sentiments on the Subject of our present Difficulties, and add such Instructions for your Conduct, as we think will be for the public Benefit.

The excellent Oeconomy of the British Constitution, founded on the Liberty of the Subject, has been the Admiration of the best Writers in Europe, and the Envy of those who live under the neighbouring, less happy Governments. "This Constitution they did not suddenly obtain, it has cost Rivers of Blood," to bring it to its present happy Perfection, "but they have not purchased it too dear." The Liberty of the Subject is so interwoven, in every Part of it, that the least Infringement of that Liberty is a Blow aimed at the Vitals of the Constitution.

To this happy Constitution, in all its Branches, and in its fullest Extent, we apprehend the Inhabitants of this Province are intitled, as free-born British-Subjects; our own provincial Charter is but a Confirmation of these Rights.

Rights. We inherit them from our Ancestors, who were Parties to the GREAT CHARTER OF LIBERTY, and Descendants from those who possess'd them even before that happy Æra, under the ALFREDS and EDWARDS of immortal Name. These Rights, we apprehend, no Men or Body of Men on Earth, have the least Right to infringe; and when we have ever exulted in the Name of Britons, it has not been in the empty Name, which in itself is no better than that of Spaniard or Turk, but in the Idea of the glorious Privileges annexed to that Name.

We have the most loyal Sentiments of our gracious KING and his illustrious Family, we have the highest Reverence and Esteem for that most august Body the PARLIAMENT of Great Britain, and we have an ardent Affection towards our Brethren at Home, we have always regarded their Interests as our own, & esteemed our own Prosperity as necessarily united with theirs.—Hence it is that we have the greatest Concern at some Measures adopted by the late Ministry, and some late Acts of Parliament, which we apprehend, in their Tendency, will deprive us of some of our essential and high prized Liberties. The STAMP-ACT, in a peculiar Manner, we esteem a Grievance, as by it we are subjected to a heavy Tax, to which are annexed very severe Penalties and the Recovery of Forfeitures, incurred by the Breach of it, is in a Manner which the English Constitution abhors, that is WITHOUT A TRIAL BY JURY, and in a Court of Admiralty. That a People should be taxed at the Will of another, whether of one Man or many, without their own Consent, in Person or by Representative, is RANK Slavery. For if their Superior sees fit, they may be deprived of their whole Property, upon any frivolous Pretext, or without any Pretext at all. And a People, without Property, or in the precarious Possession of it, are in no better State than Slaves; for Liberty, or even Life itself, without the Enjoyment of them flowing from Property, are of no Value.

We would not suggest, that the British Legislature in the Stamp Act, design'd to enslave their Brethren in America; but that unawares, those Consequences will follow, which if clearly perceived, they would have detested; and saying that even that august Body may be mistaken is saying no more, than that they are but human.

But grievous and oppressive as this Taxation in itself may be, the Extension of the Powers of the Court of Admiralty is still more alarming. Are we not treated as Slaves indeed, when our Brethren and Equals, who, in all Matters, where Life, Liberty, and Property are concerned, are to be the Judges by the British Constitution, are here excluded, and we are obliged to submit to a Jurisdiction naturally foreign to it: where the Laws of Justinian are the Measure of Right, and the Common Law, the collected Wisdom of the British Nation for Ages, is not admitted, and where one Man, whose Interest (as we have heard) it is to condemn in all Cases, is to be our Judge both of Law and Fact; and if the Judge, whose immediate Jurisdiction may be in this Province, should be too honest a Man for the vile Informer's Purpose, he may at his Pleasure carry us a thousand Miles off, where the Party must be unable to follow to a Court of Admiralty to be appointed over all America, which for the sake of Independency may be at Halifax, or in the Caribbees.

That these Measures are contrary to the constitutional Rights of Britons cannot be denied, and that the British Inhabitants of America are not in every Respect intitled to the Privileges of Britons, even the Patrons of the most arbitrary Measures against us have not yet advanced.

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We have been full and explicit on this Head, as it seems to be the fundamental Point in Debate; but was this Tax in itself ever so constitutional, we cannot think but at this Time it would be very grievous and burthensome: The Embarrassments on our Trade are great, and the Scarcity of Cash arising therefrom is such, that by the Execution of the Stamp-Act we should be drain'd in a very little Time of that Medium of Trade: The Consequence of which is, that our Commerce must stagnate, and our Labourers starve.

These, Sir, are our Sentiments on this Occasion, nor can we think that the Distresses we have painted, are the Creatures of our own Imagination. It is true, we are alarmed, and when our precious ALL is at Stake, can it be otherwise? We have ever been ready to exert ourselves, in Defence of his Majesty's Dominions in these Parts, and have even been lavish of our Blood and Treasure in his Service. But Brick cannot be made without Straw; and we apprehend we are by this Act required to do an Impossibility.

We, therefore, the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of this Town, being legally assembled, take this Opportunity to declare our just Expectations from you, which are,

That you will, to the utmost of your Ability, use your Influence in the General Assembly, that the Rights and Privileges of this Province may be preserved inviolate; and that the sacred Deposit, we have received from our Ancestors, may be handed down without Infringment to our Posterity of the last Generations.

That You endeavour, that all Measures, consistent with our Loyalty to the best of Kings, may be taken to prevent the Execution of the above grievous Innovations; and that a Repeal of the Stamp Act may be obtained by a most Dutiful, & at the same Time, Spirited Remonstrance against it.

That You do not consent to any new or unprecedented Grants, but endeavour that the greatest Frugality and Oeconomy may take Place in the Distribution of the public Monies, remembering the great Expence the War has involved us in, and the Debt incur'd thereby which remains yet undischarged.

That You will consult and promote such Measures as may be necessary in this difficult Time, to prevent the Course of Justice from being stay'd, and the Commerce of the Province from standing still.

That if Occasion shall offer, you bear Testimony in Behalf of this Town, against all seditious and mobbish Insurrections, and express our utter Abhorrence to all Breaches of the Peace, and that you readily concur in any constitutional Measures that may be necessary to secure the publick Tranquility.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich, assembled on this 21st Day of October 1765, Voted, That the following Instructions be given to Dr. John Calef, Representative of said Town, for his Conduct at the next Meeting of the General Assembly.

S I R,

AS the Sitting of the General Court is too near to leave us time to be particular in our instructions for your conduct relative to the distressing and ruining measures that have been lately taken with respect to *America*, we can at present only say in general as our opinion, that as our subordination to our mother country has its foundation intirely in our charter, you

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are strenuously, tho' with decency, to maintain that any measure not consistent with those charters, and that deprives us of any right in them, is neither consistent with such subordination nor implied in it; the Principle here laid down has its support from these and like considerations, some of which we have only time to hint at.—When our Fore-fathers left their native country, they left also the Laws and Constitution they had been under in all respects, and to all purposes, save what was secured by the charters: And it is manifest fact, that from that day to this, the government at home have never considered the colonies as under the force of that constitution or the laws of that realm; three things were necessary to have made this otherwise, *First*, That their migrating and coming forth should have been a national act. *Secondly*, That it should have been at a national Expence. *Thirdly*, That they should be sent to settle some place or territory that the nation had before in some way or other made their own, as was usually, if not always the case with the ancient Romans; but neither of them was the case here. It is well known they came out of their own accord, and at their own expence, and took possession of a country they were obliged to buy or fight for, and to which the nation had no more right than to the moon. Thence it follows, that abating the charter, they were as much dismembered from the government they came from, as the people of any other part of the world. In a consistency therefore with the Charters we are subordinate and subjects, and as we humbly apprehend no otherways; all subordination, not deduced from hence must have its foundation in despotism and arbitrary principles that have no bound, and of course may run up to tyranny on the one hand, and down to abject slavery on the other, all which might easily be shewn. You are therefore instructed to use your best endeavours in every lawful and respectful way to get removed every measure that has been taken; and to prevent those that may be feared, which are not consistent with the charter of the province; which as it is the only mean or instrument by which our subordination to the nation is preserved, so it is the only reward the Province ever had for purchasing at an infinite expence of their own blood and treasure, their large part of this new accession of empire, wealth and glory to the *British* Nation. We shall only add, that for any people to be supposed under two different legislative authority's at the same time, and for the same parts of government, is (we think) inconsistent with the very nature of government; inconsistent with the governed, and inconsistent with common sense: If therefore we have a right by charter to govern ourselves to any certain Degrees, than on this principle this right must be exclusive in that degree, of all other powers of legislators in the world while these charters continue.

Attest, SAMUEL ROGERS, Town-Clerk.

EXTRACTS

EXTRACTS from the *Boston Evening-Post* of Monday, November 4, 1765.

From the VOTES of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

MARTIS, 29 Die OCTOBRIS, A. D. 1765.

In the House of REPRESENTATIVES.

ACCORDING to the Order of the Day, there being a very full House, the following Draft, which had been laid on the Table was particularly considered, and thereupon Voted.

Whereas the just Rights of His Majesty's Subjects of this Province, derived to them from the *British Constitution*, as well as the *Royal Charter*, have been lately drawn into Question: In order to ascertain the same, this House do UNANIMOUSLY come into the following Resolves.

1. *Resolved*, That there are certain essential Rights of the *British Constitution* of Government which are founded in the Law of God and Nature, and are the common Rights of Mankind----Therefore

2. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province are *unalienably* entitled to those essential Rights in common with all Men: And that no Law of Society can, consistent with the Law of God and Nature, divest them of those Rights.

3. *Resolved*, That no Man can justly take the Property of another without his Consent: And that upon this original Principle the Right of Representation in the same Body, which exercises the Power of making Laws for levying Taxes, which is one of the main Pillars of the *British Constitution*, is evidently founded.

4. *Resolved*, That this *inherent* Right, together with all other essential Rights, Liberties, Privileges and Immunities, of the People of *Great Britain*, have been fully confirmed to them by *Magna Charta*, and by former and later Acts of Parliament.

5. *Resolved*, That His Majesty's Subjects in *America*, are in Reason and common Sense, entitled to the same Extent of Liberty, with His Majesty's Subjects in *Britain*.

6. *Resolved*, That by the Declaration of the Royal Charter of this Province, the Inhabitants are entitled to all the Rights, Liberties, and Immunities of free and natural Subjects of *Great Britain*, to all Intents, Purposes and Constructions whatever.

7. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province appear to be intitled to all the Rights aforementioned, by an Act of Parliament 13th of GEO. 2d.

8. *Resolved*, That those Rights do belong to the Inhabitants of this Province, upon Principles of *common Justice*; their Ancestors, having settled this Country at their *sole Expence*; and their Posterity, having constantly approved themselves most loyal and faithful Subjects of *Great Britain*.

9. *Resolved*, That every Individual in the Colonies, is as advantageous to *Great Britain*, as if he were in *Great Britain*, and held to pay his full Proportion of Taxes there: And as the Inhabitants of this Province pay their full Proportion of Taxes, for the Support of His Majesty's Government *here*, it is unreasonable for them to be called upon, to pay any Part of the Charges of the Government *there*.

10. *Resolved*,

10. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of this Province are not, and never have been, represented in the Parliament of *Great Britain*: And that such a Representation *there*, as the Subjects in *Britain* do actually and rightfully enjoy, is *impracticable* for the Subjects in *America*:---And further, That in the Opinion of this House, the several subordinate Powers of Legislation in *America*, were constituted, upon the Apprehensions of this *Impracticability*.

11. *Resolved*, That the *only* Method, whereby the constitutional Rights of the Subjects of this Province can be secure, consistent with a Subordination to the supreme Power of *Great Britain*, is by the continued Exercise of such Powers of Government as are granted in the Royal Charter, and a firm Adherence to the Privileges of the same.

12. *Resolved*, as a just Conclusion from some of the foregoing Resolves, That all Acts made, by any Power whatever, other than the General Assembly of this Province, imposing Taxes on the Inhabitants, are Infringements of our *inherent* and *unalienable* Rights as *Men* and *British Subjects*: and render void the most valuable Declarations of our *Charter*.

13. *Resolved*, That the Extension of the Powers of the Court of Admiralty within this Province, is a most violent Infraction of the Right of Trials by Juries.---A Right, which this House upon the Principles of their *British Ancestors*, hold most dear and sacred it being the only Security of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of his Majesty's Subjects here.

14. *Resolved*, That this House owe the strictest Allegiance to His Most Sacred Majesty King GEORGE the Third: That they have the greatest Veneration for the Parliament: And that they will, after the Example of *all* their Predecessors, from the Settlement of this Country, exert themselves to their utmost in supporting his Majesty's Authority in the Province,---in promoting the true Happiness of his Subjects: and in enlarging the Extent of his Dominion.

Ordered, That all the foregoing Resolves be kept in the Records of this House; that a just Sense of Liberty, and the firm Sentiments of Loyalty may be transmitted to Posterity.

[Continued from the last Week]

A Writer in the New-Haven Gazette has transported a new cargo of arguments for adopting these measures; whether in weight and value worth the transportation we shall soon see.---“They say “ (says he) it has “ been found necessary, ever since the peace, to keep up a body of troops, “ viz, about 7000 men, upon the frontier in America, to preserve the people from the violence of the bordering Indians, and to prevent disturbances “ from the newly conquered French Inhabitants.”

This should have been left on the other side the water, where it would have answered a purpose,—with Americans it can avail little, because they know there is little in it. Indeed, if these troops are to be quartered at discretion, upon the newly conquered French, it will no doubt require the whole number, and more, to keep them from disturbances: for this is so contrary to the British constitution they are under, and such an outrage upon humanity, as no people ought to bear—Such shocking inhumanity has made the blood of many (besides French) boil, and their hearts burn with indignation. We hope the wisdom of the British parliament will never suffer it more, in any part of the British dominions:—but were they indulged the liberties of a free people, and of British subjects, they would be peaceable of themselves, and need but few of these troops—the wisdom of former ages has proved it

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in numerous instances: so that this real occasion comes to little. If this fails he has another refuge. "To preserve the people from the violences of the bordering Indians." This is worse and worse.—The militia of the colonies is doubtless sufficient to defend us from the violences of the Indians in times of peace. This we judge upon trials made—and surest test. They were so in the days of our fathers, when their enemies were near ten times as many, and their militia an hundred times less. And unless he can prove that an enemy ten times less, is more strong and formidable than ten times so many: or that a militia an hundred times greater, is smaller and weaker than a hundredth part of the same number, his refuge fails, and real occasion for these measures comes to nothing. But this real occasion being supposed, which we observed is not: he has an argument to shew the equity and necessity of this tax: "Because the colonies will not exert themselves in a proportionate manner, as experienc'd in the late war—Some will do much, and some little or nothing at all."—But is it not more reasonable to state and require the proportion of those who will do little, than so heavily to tax the whole? Some 'tis allowed have done much, yea beyond their abilities; and must they now be subject to a heavy, perpetual, endless tax, equal to them who have done little? Where is the generosity or justice of this? Some have done little—but have they forfeited their essential rights as Englishmen by it: such as their "right of taxing themselves, and of trial by juries:"—by what law or reason? If not, why are they so punished? Or have they, or can such incorporate bodies forfeit such privileges for their posterity, that they also shall be disfranchised of their birth-right privileges?—No, the contrary (if I mistake not) was fully proved in the trial of the London Charter. And more,—can they forfeit—for all the other governments in America, who have no more hand in their transgression, than any of the corporations in Great Britain, that they must all suffer with them, that they have done much, in doing much, as well as they who have done little for their doing little. And I may add, some of the colonies have settled and defended themselves, and added a large territory and numerous subjects to the realm, and have been a great service to the mother country by their trade, and all wholly of themselves, at a vast expence of money, toil and blood, without a farthing cost to the crown; and this they did upon the encouragement of royal charters, granted to them by their royal sovereign, under his hand and seal; expecting, and securely depending upon the privileges thereof, as an indefeasible inheritance to themselves and posterity forever. And must all be forfeit, and these privileges, securities, confidence and expectations be all dashed in pieces and abolished at the failure of some other government, for which they are no more accountable than the city of London. Good God! where do such sovereign measures tend, and where may they end? Supposing it tried in the kingdom of Ireland, or Great-Britain, upon some delinquency found in some of the cities or corporations---the essential rights of one and all, must be superceeded and vacated, and the power of the courts of admiralty be extended to cases belonging to the courts of common pleas---and the privileges of juries denied in jury actions---would it go down in either of these kingdoms? By no means :---It would doubtless create as great uneasiness among them, as it does now amongst Americans---and raise as great an uproar as ever was in these kingdoms.

'Tis happy that this rule of administration was not adopted and practised upon in the late rebellion, or it might have proved fatal to all the charters and corporations in Great Britain.—To suppose "we can raise such taxes as easy

as they in the mother country," is against all reason—considering the vast expence of the colonies in purchasing—in manuring and subduing (for a while with little profit) and lastly, in defending their possessions.—It is also unreasonable to suppose that "all the sums raised by the stamp-act and other duties in the West Indies and these colonies, will not exceed an hundred thousand pounds sterling." But were it so, is this all the damage we shall sustain by the stamp Act?—Far otherwise—the day it takes place, it sinks the value of our estates in America, more than a million. Yea we lose the best part of our inheritance: He must be a sordid Miser indeed who does not account his privileges the better part. It is certainly then no trifle that fills the minds of Americans with so great anxiety. But now comes his grand argument—"As to the right of parliament to lay this tax, they say, that altho' the particular colonies have certain rights, powers and privileges circumscribed within their respective limits, yet these do by no means take from the parliament that supreme jurisdiction when they, and which every supreme legislature in every state, always must have over every part of the dominions, as well those who have a voice in electing them as others, for the great and national purposes of guiding and defending the whole; and to suppose the contrary would be at once to destroy the very foundation and principles of all government."

It has been common for extraordinary exertions of power (unsupported by reason and the constitution) to be palm'd upon the people, by the favorable assistance of some favorite court maxim of a specious sound and appearance; the fallacy of which few will be at the pains to search out and detect; I take this to be a maxim of that kind. With proper limitations the parliament have doubtless this power—but it cannot extend to the purposes of this Act. To apply this maxim in this manner—it is self repugnant and contrary to the truth of fact—and to the concession they make in the introduction of it.

The foundation of government stands strong in compassing the great ends of government, viz. the people's securely enjoying essential rights, which under the British constitution, are their right of tax "ing themselves, and of trials by juries," with others—Now to suppose the supreme legislature must have a power to superceed and take away these rights at pleasure, in order to secure and protect the people in the enjoyment of them, favours of contradiction, and is plainly self-repugnant.

Again, no such extraordinary powers has been claimed or exerted by the British parliament, for more than half a century past—but the rights taken away by it have been exercised by the British colonies, and recognized (as rightfully their's) by the British King and parliament for several generations: and yet, the foundation of government, all the time, has stood firm, here, and in Great-Britain; and the great ends of it have been very well attain'd in both, and certainly much better than they are like to be under the new claims and exertions, which threaten anarchy, confusion and destruction to the colonies, more than any thing which has happened to them since their first existence.

All the people see, this specious maxim so applied, is contrary to the truth of fact. And it is likewise contrary to the concession here made, viz. "That the particular colonies have certain rights, powers and privileges circumscribed within their respective limits." These rights must be such as we have had in possession and exercise, ever since we were colonies; the rights superceeded and vacated by the act—if we have not these we have none—and if these be our rights, they are ours to have and to hold, to possess

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and defend against all claimants whatsoever. They are indefeasible rights; we cannot yield them up; nor can they be taken away from us.—Were we so base, we could not yield them up, because they are the birth-right inheritance of our children, to which they are born; and so are our's to hold, but not to give up; nor can any claimants rightfully take them from us: this would make them rights and no rights, or our's, and not our's at the same time: for such claimants could take them away, only, on account of their having a better right to them than we:—and if so, in fact they are our rights in name, but their's in reality; which is contrary to the supposition and concession allowed us in the introduction. So that this grand argument brought from a great nation, and set out by some with sufficient parade, seems to favour of such great weakness, that it can by no means support itself. He might have left the whole behind, as they have done little to enlighten this hemisphere, or satisfy the inhabitants of it.

No legislature on earth we so highly revere as the British parliament, and feel it our greatest calamity, we have not the fullness of their patronage of our liberties, at this time as ever heretofore; yet cannot think it within any power to make our rights no rights, or rightfully to take away (without forfeiture or trial) the certain rights, powers and privilege “ges which are allowed “ to belong to particular colonies and British subjects as such.” Nor can we think these measures less likely to be injurious, as a precedent, than if effected by royal prerogative only. The latter has often been tried in vain, and the nation are so much awakened and guarded on that hand, it never can be enslaved by it.—And it has long been the opinion of our best politicians, that “ England can never be undone but by a parliament.” As how?—but by gradually diminishing their rights---and how can it be practised? but first on the colonies---then upon Ireland---then upon Great-Britain itself.

On the whole, we leave it to the judicious, whether these measures are not much more adapted to extend and increase prerogative power, and ministerial influence, than to answer “ any great national purposes.

And also, whether the raising of revenues in the way of sacrificing the rights of the colonies---upon the ruins of trade---and of the colonies---and of course of the manufactures of Great-Britain, will not in the end be a measure so very unpopular, and offensive thro'out the whole realm, as will destroy that extraordinary M—st—l power and influence it seems calculated to establish.

N E W - P O R T , Octo. 24.

As soon as it was known that the Stamps were really arrived, all the Vessels in the Harbour lower'd their Colours, to signify *Mourning, Lamentation, & Woe*. Alas! What have we done to merit such treatment from our Mother Country, and our brethren? Have we deserved to be thus degraded and dishonoured, and used by them, as the most inveterate enemies? What strange infatuation has prevailed in their councils! To distress, ruin and enslave us, when our rights and privileges are precisely the same, and our Interests inseparably united!

It is reported, that the Governor sent to Mr. M' Evers, desiring him to take care of the Stamps, and that he answer'd, he had nothing to do with them. At present, as we are inform'd, there is not one of the persons appointed, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, that will execute the odious Office;---so that the Stamps are now a Commodity no body knows what to do with, and are more abominable, and dangerous to be meddled with, than if they were infected with the Pestilence.—It is more dangerous to buy or sell or
meddle

meddle with a Stamp, than it is to encounter all the dangers and penalties attending the want of them. AMEN.

We hear that most of the Gentlemen in Town, have entered into a resolution not to buy any European manufactures till their trade is more opened, the *Sugar Act* altered and the *Stamp Act* repealed.

N E W - H A V E N, Octo. 25.

The General Assembly of this Colony has lately passed a Number of Resolutions to assert and vindicate the Charter and other invaluable Privileges which justly belong to this loyal Government. They are not yet prepared for Publication—Why the House were not unanimous in their Sentiments of the said Resolutions, should be left to the Investigation of those who are able to discover the Truth. It is said there were only five members on the negative Side of the Question; and eighty-five on the other.

Philadelphia. October 24.

We hear from Antigua, that a ship from London for Jamaica, but put in to unload some goods for the merchants of Antigua, brought over three persons, said to be distributors of stamps for the island of Jamaica, &c. who were in so great a hurry to get to the spot, where, with impunity, they might rob and tear from the inhabitants of those isles their money and liberties, that they offered any price for a vessel to go down immediately to Jamaica.

Saturday last was executed, Henry Halbert, pursuant to his sentence, for the murder of the son of Jacob Woolman.—*He will never pay any of the taxes unjustly laid on these once happy lands.*

The Governor of Maryland having desired the Advice of the Assembly, with Respect to taking Care of the Stamped Paper, as the Officer appointed for that Purpose had gone off, they reply'd: In Answer to your Message just now received, relative to the Stamp'd Paper, we should think ourselves extremely happy were we in Circumstances to advise your Excellency on so new a Subject: But it being a Matter of Importance, and such as we do not think ourselves at Liberty to advise in, without the Instructions of our constituents, which we cannot now obtain, we hope your Excellency will think us excuseable for declining to offer you any Advice upon the Occasion."

Boston, November 4.

AT a Meeting of the Freeholders and otheir Inhabitants of the Town of Norton, legally assembled on Monday the 25th Day of October 1765, voted unanimously, that the following Instructions be presented to GEORGE LEONARD, jun. Esq; their Representative, viz.

S I R,

IN the present melancholy Situation of the Province, while we groan under a most distressing load of public and private debts, as trade seems to be departing from the colonies, and more especially as the time is at hand when the act, called the Stamp act (if carried into Execution) must give the finishing stroke to every thing that is dear to us as men & Englishmen, we think it a Duty we owe our selves and posterity, to communicate to you our sentiments that both you and we may use our utmost endeavours to preserve those rights and privileges that our forefathers purchased so dearly and transmitted to us for an unalienable inheritance.

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Undoubtedly

Undoubtedly we are intitled to the privileges and immunities of Englishmen ; we venture to assert that we have rights founded in nature, confirmed by charters, and guarded by the British constitution itself: Every attempt therefore to divest us of them must be looked upon as arbitrary and unconstitutional, and ought to be opposed by all means that are warranted by the laws of God, the British constitution, and the common rights of mankind.

The Stamp-Act, made and passed in the British parliament, where the colonies have no representation, even without the hearing of any one remonstrance against it, out of the many decent and dutiful ones that, at a vast expence, were presented, and as we apprehend, thro' a wicked misrepresentation of our circumstances, subjects the colonies to so great and disproportionate a tax as they are unable to pay, and if insisted upon must end in their ruin, and also subjects us to the despotism of a judge of admiralty in numerous internal matters, without being allowed the inestimable privilege of a trial by a jury: We therefore take the freedom to say that we look upon this act as an innovation (at least) replete with inconveniences, ruinous not only to American liberty, but in its consequences to the British constitution itself, should so dangerous a precedent be deemed constitutional.

Therefore we cannot think it our duty to instruct you to join in any public measures for assisting in the execution of the same, but on the contrary, expect that you use every method to prevent its being carried into execution that is consistent with our allegiance to the best of Kings.

We likewise take this opportunity to express our detestation of mobs and all outrageous proceedings, being sensible that an unthinking misguided mob is the worst of tyrants, and anarchy the worst state of slavery---Nevertheless we cannot think ourselves any ways answerable for the damage that particular persons may have sustained in the late disturbances, and expect that you oppose every attempt to their being compensated out of the public monies; that you oppose all unconstitutional and unaccustomed grants, and endeavour that the greatest frugality may be observed in all dispositions of the public monies whatever.

We would further observe to you that if any safe method can be found out to prevent the Courts of Justice from being shut up and the province plunged into the distresses of an *out-lawry*, and whereby the trade of the province may yet be upheld, we expect your prudence will direct you to embrace it.

EXTRACTS from the *Massachusetts Gazette* of *Thursday*,
November 7, 1765.

PORTSMOUTH, Nov. 1.

IN consequence of a report which for time past prevailed in the country, that Mr. Messerve notwithstanding his late *verbal* resignation determined to execute his detestable office; and that some of the merchants here intended to make use of the stamp'd Paper, for clearing out their vessels, &c—Yesterday morning the people in the neighbouring towns began to assemble: In the afternoon about Four hundred resolute men, well equip'd, were collected on the plains (about 2 miles from this town) and large numbers were on their march from distant places to join them at their appointed rendezvous.--- Their purpose was to demand of Mr. Messerve a more explicit resignation, &c.—The news being brought to town, his Majesty's Council immediately met, and after some consultation, rode in a body up to the Plains having

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taken Mr. Messerve and a number of the merchants with them.—Here a solemn Oath was taken by Mr. Messerve (being administered by Judge Warner, a member of Council) that he would *never*, directly or indirectly, execute the office of *Distributor of Stamps* in this province. This oath, taken in the most solemn manner in the midst of so large a number of his Majesty's loyal subjects, who stood all the time with their hats in their hands; and the repeated assurances from the Council, that the bale of stamp'd paper should not be opened, and from the Merchants that they would never use them on any account, disarmed the populace of all their resentment;—and after being plentifully refreshed at the expence of the Council from the neighbouring Inn, they all returned highly satisfied, to their respective homes, the same evening, in peace and good order.

The stamp'd Papers sent for the Use of this Province, are lodged in the Fort at Newcastle, where they are to remain as a dead inactive Lump of Matter, till they are sent back to their native Country.

Nov. 4. Friday last being the first of November, the Day on which the fatal and never-to-be forgotten Stamp-Act was *intended* to take Place, the Morning began with tolling all the Bells in this Town, and at Newcastle, Greenland, Kittery, &c. the Colours on board the Shipping in the Harbour were hoisted half mast, and Notice given to the Friends of *Liberty*, to attend her Funeral, which was to be at 3 o'Clock P. M. a Coffin having been previously prepared and neatly ornamented, on the Lid of which was wrote LIBERTY, aged 145. STAMP'D, computing from the Æra of our Forefathers landing at Plymouth from England,-----and having with the greatest Difficulty procured a *Stamp-Act*, re-printed at Boston, (no Original having ever been seen in this Province) the same was carried to the Grave by a Person who preceeded the Corps.—The Procession began from the State-House, attended by a great Concourſe of People of all Ranks, with 2 unbrac'd Drums, and after marching through the principal Streets, it passed the Parade, on which Minute Guns were fired, and continued till the Corps arrived at the Place of Interment, which was about half a Mile out of Town, when after much Sorrow express'd for our *expired Liberty*, a Funeral *Oration* was pronounced greatly in favor of the Deceas'd, which was hardly ended before the Corps was taken up, it having been perceived that some Remains of Life were left, at which the Inscription was immediately altered, and then appeared to be *Liberty Revived*—and the *Stamp Act* was thrown into the Grave and buried,—at which the Bells immediately altered their melancholy to a more joyful Sound, and the greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction were diffused into every Countenance. The whole was conducted with the utmost Decency, and in the Evening, a Number of Gentlemen assembled at the King's Arms Tavern, where several Healths adapted to the Occasion, were drank, such as *LIBERTY, PROPERTY, &c. &c.*

By the proceedings of the Assembly of Barbados, published in the Barbados Mercury, it appears, that letters had been received by Governor Pinfold from Admiral Tyrrel and Capt. Knowler of the Milford, giving accounts, that the said Captain being sent to observe what the French were doing at Cayenne and the Triangles, he discovered several ships of war and other vessels in the river Cayenne, and ashore a great number of tents and some buildings, and imagined the French were laying up a very great magazine supplied from North America, Capt. Knowler having seized a brigantine from Philadelphia cleared out from Barbados with provisions and naval stores, but by the invoices and bills of lading, bound for Cayenne, and had letters to the French

French Governor there. The said brigantine was condemned in Barbados for illicit Trade; and by papers found on board it appears, that Messieurs John Remson and Thomas Riche of Philadelphia have entered into contract for supplying the French at Cayenne.

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On the fatal First of November, 1765, was published a caricatura Print, representing the deplorable State of America, and under what Influence her Ruin is attempted.----At the Top is a Figure representing France, holding in one Hand a Purse of Money to a Comet, marked with a Jack-Boot, and out of her Mouth a Label, by which we find she actuates the Star to shed its baneful Influence on Britannia; who presents a Box to America, telling her it is the *St---p A--t*: but on it is wrote *Pandora's Box* (which, according to the Poets, was fill'd with all Kinds of Calamities. America, who is in deep distress, calls out to Minerva to secure her, *for she abhors it as Death!* Minerva (i. e. Wisdom) forbids her taking it, and points to Liberty, who is expiring at the Feet of America with a Label proper to his Extremity. Close by is a fair Tree inscribed to Liberty; at whose Root grows a Thistle, from under it creeps a Viper and infixes its Sting in the Side of Liberty.--Mercury (who signifies Commerce) reluctantly leaves America, as is expressed by the Label.—Boreas, near the Comet, blows a violent Gust full upon the Tree of Liberty; against which Loyalty leans, and expresses her Fear of losing her Support.

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Support.—Behind, a Number of Ships haul'd up and to be sold; a Croud of Sailors dismiss'd, with Labels proper to them. On the other Side a Gallows with this Inscription, *It Entertainment for St--p M--n*: A Number of these Gentlemen, with Labels expressing various Sentiments on the Occasion. At the Bottom is a Coat of Arms, proper for the St--p M--n.

The above to be Sold by *Nathaniel Hurd*, near the Town House.

In the House of REPRESENTATIVES.

ON a Motion made and seconded by divers Members, **RESOLVED**, That the Thanks of this House be given to the Committee who were appointed to meet the several Committees from the Houses of Representatives and Burgesses in the several Colonies on this Continent, to consult together on the present Circumstances of the Colonies, and the Difficulties to which they are and must be reduced by the Operation of the late Acts of Parliament, for levying Duties and Taxes on the Colonies; and to consider of a general and humble Address to His Majesty and Parliament to implore Relief—for their very judicious and faithful discharge of said Trust.

The Honourable House of Representatives on Tuesday last, made Choice of **DENNIS DE BERDT**, Esq; of the City of London, Merchant, to be a special Agent.

We hear the Instructions given to the Representatives of the several Towns within this Province, are to be inserted in the Journal of the House. For which Reason some of them that have been sent to be published in the Newspapers are omitted.

We hear that Thursday the Fifth of December next, is appointed by Authority to be observed as a Day of Public Thanksgiving throughout the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

A Number of Magistrates in Virginia, thinking themselves compelled by the strongest Motives of Honor and Virtue, to decline acting as Justices of the Peace from the first of November, and have accordingly resigned.

We hear from Nova-Scotia, that a Quantity of Stamped Papers and Parchments being sent by the Distributor of Stamps at Halifax, to a Deputy at Liverpool, the People hearing thereof, obliged the Deputy to surrender them up, which they put in a Bundle and burnt.

Thursday the 14th of November is appointed by Authority, to be observed as a Day of **THANKSGIVING** thro'out the Province of New-Hampshire.

To the **PUBLIC.**

WHEREAS there has lately come out a pathetic Poem called "**THE TIMES**," full of Sympathy for its Country—and due Loyalty to its Prince and all in Authority---that are staunch Friends to Liberty. And whereas there was prefix'd to said Poem, a Preface *unworthy the Name*,---insolent, impertinent, and justly abhorrent to every honest Man—I can assure the **PUBLIC**, that the Author of that Poem entirely disclaims the Preface, and affirms his Disapprobation of it.—Wherefore, I would beg all possess'd of said Poem to do as I have done---tare it out with disdain. N. B.

NEW-HAVEN, November 1.

This Morning three Bells, which are all near Neighbours, began to toll here; and still continue tolling and saluting each other at suitable Intervals. They seem to speak the Word *No--vem---ber*, in the most melancholy Tone imaginable.

(They had also a Funeral Ceremony at Hartford.)

F I N I S.